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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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1 October 1984

CHINA REPORT  
 POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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HUMAN NATURE, HUMANITARIANISM IN LITERATURE DISCUSSED

Beijing WENYI BAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] in Chinese No 4, 7 Apr 84 pp 31-39

[Article by Tang Zhi [0781 2304]: "Human Nature and Humanitarianism in Literature--Notes upon Reading Comrade Hu Qiaomu's 'On Humanitarianism and Alienation'"]

[Text] After reading Comrade Hu Qiaomu's important article "On Humanitarianism and Alienation," like many comrades in the field of literature, I was greatly enlightened. Utilizing the scientific principles of Marxism and by means of orderly logic and incisive analyses, the article effectively clears up the ideological confusion in the literature of one period, sweeps away the dense fog of all kinds in people's understanding and basically clarifies the distinction of bourgeois humanitarianism from socialist humanitarianism. All these obviously have a far-reaching significance in the sound development of socialist literature.

As pointed out in Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article, "advocating the ideological trend of the humanitarian world outlook and historical conception and the alienation of socialism is not a general academic theoretical issue, but an issue of a momentous realistic political significance linked with the question of whether the basic Marxist principles are upheld and whether the practice of socialism is correctly interpreted." In terms of the literary front, instead of being an insignificant side issue, the reflections of this ideological trend in literary theories and creations are an issue of a basic nature linked with the character, direction and tasks of socialist literature. Thus, reading Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article, we must, in line with its basic spirit, wield the ideological weapon of historical materialism from the height of the Marxist world outlook and historical concept, historically and concretely observe and analyze the actual manifestations of the incorrect ideological trends in today's literary theories and creations, basically clarify the right and wrong and give Marxist answers to the numerous complex questions.

As early as in the thirties and forties, there was the issue of the relationship of literature with human nature and humanitarianism, and there were controversies in the literary circles. Lu Xun criticized the "eternal human nature" advocated by those like Liang Shiqiu, pointing out that "sweet-smelling sweat" was different from "stinking sweat" and

that it was impossible for Jiao Da to love Sister Lin. Naturally it did not mean that there was no human commonality between them; it only meant that, in a class society, one must interpret human nature with the class viewpoint and start by analyzing people's actual social relations, for otherwise it will be impossible to understand the essence of man as "the sum total of all social relations" and to reveal and comprehend the objective laws of social contradictions. Comrade Mao Zedong criticized the idea of "abstract human nature," declaring that there can only be human nature bearing the imprint of the class nature. He also criticized the so-called "human love," denouncing it as the core of bourgeois humanitarianism. His concept of "revolutionary humanitarianism" has long been accepted. In other words, Marxism does not reject the concept of humanitarianism, but the revolutionary humanitarianism of the proletariat, or the humanitarianism of socialism, is qualitatively distinguishable from bourgeois humanitarianism and humanism. What is the distinction? It is in the fundamental difference of the basic methodological principles used to observe and solve the issue of man. Historical materialism starts from society to explain man, human nature and human essence, while historical idealism starts from the abstract man, human nature and human essence to explain society. It is one basic divergence and distinction between the historical materialism of Marxism and the historical idealism of bourgeois humanitarianism. The so-called "universal love" and "human love" of the bourgeoisie, used as weapons in the early days of the struggle against the feudal system, did produce a progressive impact, but in terms of their essence, they are very false. As said by Mr Lu Xun, there is no universal lover in the world who "reveres the swindlers and butchers as well as the saints and sages and loves leprosy and germs as well as beauties and fragrant herbs." Mr Lu Xun's and Chairman Mao's explanations produced a tremendous positive impact on the development of revolutionary literature at the time. However, due to the restrictions of the historical conditions, thorough and concrete studies and discussions of these issues in a broader sphere were then impossible.

In the creative practice and theoretical explorations of the fifties, due to the "Leftist" ideological influence, the study and criticism of humanitarianism and the issue of human nature again, as pointed out in Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article, led to some new confusions. "Since the late fifties, humanitarianism was criticized many times in China. One of the errors of the criticisms was the failure to distinguish humanitarianism as a world outlook and historical concept from humanitarianism as a moral principle. The criticism of historical idealist humanitarianism was turned into opposition to humanitarianism in any sense, and even revolutionary humanitarianism and socialist humanitarianism were no longer propagandized. This error should be firmly rectified and never repeated."

Since literary creation takes the vast social life as the objective, naturally it must express human thinking and feelings, human desires and demands, human relations and the lives and fates of people of all kinds. The revolutionary function of socialist literature, as a matter of course, is to conduct an ideological moral education of the cadres and masses centered on the communist ideology and including the moral principles of

socialist humanitarianism. Meanwhile, it must expose and criticize the criminal phenomena in violation of humanitarian principles and the lack of concern, respect, sympathy and care for the common laborers, especially women, children, the old and the crippled, and wage a solemn struggle against the evil bureaucratic practices of ignoring the basic rights and intimate interests of the masses. However, due to the "Leftist" ideological influence, there are all kinds of incorrect interpretations and misunderstandings of this issue. The socialist ethical relations and the unity, cooperation and friendship which should and could be built on the basis of the socialist system are often confused with bourgeois humanitarianism and subjectively established conventions used to negate and "oppose the literary and artistic workers who, taking the revolutionary and socialist standpoint, concretely and vividly describe the authentic human nature, human sentiments, patriotism and sense of justice and the dignity of the common people." It seems that any depiction of human sentiments and the interflow of feelings belongs in the realm of the bourgeois human nature theory and bourgeois humanitarianism. In portraying characters, only the political outlook of the class to which they belong may be depicted, but no multifaceted thinking and feelings may be described, for otherwise, it will be a violation of the definition of class nature. Comrade Zhao Enlai, in his 1961 "Speech at the Literary and Artistic Work Forum and the Meeting on Feature Film Creation," sharply criticized this situation. He pointed that the director of the film "Daji and Her Father," restricted in his thinking, was apprehensive and afraid to depict freely the feelings of the characters. He declared: "'If father and daughter burst into tears upon reuniting, it is the human nature theory.' Thereupon the director does not permit them to shed tears. It is undesirable to label everything as the 'human nature theory.'" "One convention, restricts everything. When words and acts fail to fit the convention, a label is attached, such as the 'human nature theory,' 'human love' and 'excessive tenderness.' Shortcomings are seized upon, then ideological and political labels are attached and the organizational big stick comes down. All these start from subjective conventions and from definition, yet the definition is incorrect and incompatible with Marxism-Leninism."<sup>1</sup>

For a long time, such "Leftist" conventions' incompatibility with Marxism-Leninism created an extremely harmful influence on literature. In those days, depictions of the feelings of the characters beyond the realm of politics were often censured and criticized. Normal sentiments for parents, brothers, sisters, friends and comrades and the love between the sexes found in the laboring people all belonged in the forbidden zone and must not be touched. The intricate and complex social relations, the vivid and lively practical activities and the living people with extremely rich ideas and feelings were totally simplified into diagrams or deductions of the class definition. It reached the extent where one class had only one typical model, demanding simple conformity to the class "definition." Here, human individuality vanished in the simplified definition, and a blood and flesh character filled with feelings was stripped to the pale embodiment of a concept. Under the control of this incorrect theory, not only was it taboo to depict the normal feelings and sentiments of the common people, but the revolutionary cadres were often portrayed

as other-worldly, striking poses and issuing orders, while the depiction of the enemy was even more stereotyped into an innate scoundrel, green-faced and long-toothed, with sores on the head and pus from the feet. Such theory categorically negating human nature and humanitarianism appeared to be stressing the class nature of man, but, because of the failure to master and portray the living people of the different classes in their historically concrete and complex social and class relations and to recognize the existence of the social side of the characters other than their class characteristics, the common ideas and feelings and common psychological factors formed in the common social living conditions and historical developmental process, and especially the expressions of such common things through the rich and colorful personalities of the characters, the result was the failure to reflect truthfully the complex features of social life, to reveal people's rich and complex spiritual world in the actual complex relations and to create profound typical models. It actually deprived literature of the function to gain a deep understanding of the objective world, let alone its educational function. In regard to the question of how to recognize figures of the reactionary class, for instance, Marx and Engels clearly pointed out: "It should not be interpreted as the absence of individuality in the usurers and capitalists, but as the restriction and determination of their individuality under extremely concrete class relations."<sup>2</sup> There are both the personality of the individual and the restrictions placed on him by the concrete class relations, both the commonality of social people and restrictions under specific historical and social relations, and both rich social connotations and comprehensible individuality. I find that these are the dialectic viewpoint of Marxism on the issue of human nature.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "is there such a thing as human nature? Of course there is. However, there is only concrete human nature, no abstract human nature. In a class society, there is only human nature bearing a class nature, and no supra-class human nature."<sup>3</sup> I feel that these words express the same idea. In other words, man as the sum total of social relations is equipped with human nature and individuality, but is restricted by specific social and class relations. It is likewise the dialectic viewpoint of the Marxist human nature theory, and it must not be simplified to mean that human nature is class nature, because the social history of human nature is richer and broader than class nature.

Marx thought highly of the classical art, mythology and epics of Greece, declaring that they "emit an eternal charm." According to his view, Greek art expresses the infancy of mankind. There are both unruly children and precocious ones, and "the Greeks were normal children" and "the most perfectly developed" in man's infancy. In other words, under the then historical conditions, it was a relatively full development of the basic strengths and free will of the Greeks, demonstrating a rich human nature. For this reason, Marx declared: In certain aspects, Greek art may be considered as a criterion and an unattainable standard. Here we can receive enlightenment. The more copiously and fully literature expresses man's social nature and social substance, the greater is its charm.

Nevertheless, for a long time there was considerable confusion on this issue. Sometimes, certain very abnormal conditions occurred: It was correct, for instance, to stress collectivism, but at times we overlooked or even rejected and negated man's individuality, his rational demands, peculiar interests, preferences and styles, often indiscriminately categorizing them as individualism and suppressing or condemning them. Actually it was the theory of "human nature = class nature." Since you belong to the proletariat, then all individual traits are illegal and incorrect. We sought uniformity in everything. All three generations wore cadre uniforms, women concealed their curves and children hid their naivety. If a person had a hobby, he encountered criticisms, suspicions and even attacks. What Liu Xinwu's [0491 1800 2976] novel "I Love Each Green Leaf" revealed was this very situation: A teacher encountered suspicions and attacks simply because he kept the photograph of a woman when he had long been single. In political life, independent thinking was often not encouraged, nor the study of new conditions or the raising of new issues. Everything was rote. For a time, telling lies led to success, while upholding principles and expressing original views on life and science encountered subjective and arbitrary censures. The revolutionary and rational human nature suffered irrational suppression and attack. This situation not only made it impossible to embody, in the ethical and moral aspects in practical life, the respect and concern of a socialist state and socialist society for the rights, interests and characters of the broad masses, but was also, in literature, detrimental to the education in the communist ideology and the revolutionary and socialist ethics and morals. By the time of the "gang of four," the situation was further aggravated. Due to the need of their political schemes, the "gang of four" started from feudal fascism and totally negated human nature and socialist humanitarianism. They willfully trampled, humiliated and framed people not to their liking, including intellectuals, old cadres and common laborers, destroying human dignity, crushing human value, insulting human individuality and making all those blocking their scheme to usurp the party and seize power objectives of total dictatorship, yet the "sample plays" concocted by them under this fallacious ideology were merely "false, big and hollow" and "tall, large and comprehensive." All the heroes in such literary works bragged about themselves and blew their own horn. No family life, no children, no involvement with the world, nor emotions, they were mere embodiments of the ultra-Leftist concepts. Thus the "gang of four" stifled the vitality of socialist literature and attacked it.

With this background, after the downfall of the "gang of four," the literary circles, under the guidance of the resolution of the party's Third Plenary Session, launched a struggle to bring order out of chaos and make a thorough overhaul. Many works solemnly exposed and combated the "gang of four's" ultra-Leftist line against human nature and humanitarianism and advocated the restoration and affirmation of the proper dignity and value of the personality of the socialist citizen. These were of a positive significance, conducive to the rapid return of our social life to the orbit of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, the restoration of the true features of socialism and the formation of new socialist

ethical relations. That the socialist system eliminated the ugly phenomenon of man exploiting man was for the purpose of basically creating a society where the broad laboring people can, in the economic, social and thereby political aspects, become masters, truly and basically protecting their value and dignity and bringing to light and developing the beautiful and rational human nature. Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" decimation of human value and dignity was, in the final analysis, a great setback in the course of our construction of socialism. The mistakes in our work and policies and the imperfections in many of our systems were utilized by them to launch destructive activities. They were, in their acts, sharply opposed to the demands and goals of socialism. The many works emerging after their downfall exposing their perverse and criminal acts and summarizing our mistakes and the lessons of history are refutations of the 10-year turmoil and an intensification and development of the literary creations of the 17 years prior to the "Cultural Revolution." Their tremendous significance should be fully assessed. These works portray manifold characters. Living in typical environments and concrete social relations, they are typified concrete personalities, equipped with living ideas and feelings and rich human nature which includes the class nature. Author Fang Zhi's [2455 0037] novel "Hidden Traitor," for instance, portrays a merchant who rendered aid to the cadres of the New Fourth Army during the war against Japan. It was a fact, but he was persecuted and attacked under the "gang of four." In spite of all kinds of tortures, he felt that, through his contact with the Communist Party, he respected the quality of true communists, and that he could not ignore his conscience and go along with the rebels in their conspiracy to make false accusations of the old comrade who had become the commander of an armored unit. Thus the novel eulogizes the upright spirit of an ordinary man who had once been a merchant. Impermissible in the past, it is an authentic portrayal of the honest essence of an ordinary man in complex social relations. Take Lu Wenting in "Reaching Middle Age" as another instance: Though this noble image to millions of readers was "burdened externally with her professional work and internally with household chores," living a most difficult life under a tremendous pressure, she silently dedicated herself to her work, stood firm and indomitable, remained honest in poverty and willingly bore the load. In her faith, she kept firmly in mind that, "as long as the scapel remains in our hands, we will be able to serve the people." She dedicated without reservation her youth, talent and enthusiasm to her profession. A noble moral strength and a spirit of socialist humanitarianism and of selfless devotion emitted from her person. That is why the image is so stirring. By means of the honest descriptions of her psychology and circumstances, the author seeks socialist humanitarian solicitude and concern for the fate of middle-aged intellectuals.

"The Story of Criminal Li Tongzhong" recounts how, during the 3-year difficulty, when the peasants faced the critical moment of starvation, Li Tongzhong, a party member and branch secretary, became extremely distressed, resolutely borrowed from grain station chief Zhu Laoqing, his old comrade-in-arms, 50,000 jin of grain and saved the peasants from

starvation, while he himself was arrested for violating the law and finally died of exhaustion and hunger. It is the story of a Communist Party member who tested the law in order to save the lives of the masses, revealing the noble quality and lofty plane of his boundless loyalty to the people. Such intricate social environment and complex yet rich emotions and character were inconceivable under the ultra-Leftist ideological influence in the past. However, it is precisely the depiction of such authentic social relations and rich qualities of the characters which reflects the party's profound influence on the people and a Communist Party members' boundless loyalty to the people, manifesting his beautiful human nature, possessing both nobility and a class connotation. In the creative practice, the story denotes that the socialist humanitarian spirit is expressed under specific historical conditions and amidst specific social relations through the numerous human activities in social practice, manifesting the characteristics of man's social and class natures and wiping out the malpractice of "filtering" the characters and turning them into pale shadows of concepts by means of the "Leftist" concepts and class labels. It should be called a victory of revolutionary realism, a momentous harvest in character portrayal and an embodiment of socialist humanitarianism. Earnestly summarizing such artistic experiences and incisively epitomizing them in theory, thereby promoting the development of creative practice, constitute an important task of theoretical work.

Nevertheless, besides the tremendous achievements gained by us in this aspect, the reason that the issue of human nature and humanitarianism attracts so much attention today is because there has emerged in some of the works human nature concepts which deviate from Marxism, take bourgeois humanitarianism as the ideological prop or interpret the historical and actual phenomena with bourgeois humanitarianism as the world outlook and historical concept. If we say that, under the "Leftist" ideological influence in the past, we often simplistically equated human nature with class nature and the latter with political nature, thereby reducing the characters into diagrams of certain definitions, interpreting the living man apart from the historical and concrete social and class relations and depriving the characters of richness and vitality, then, some works today go to the other extreme. Discarding all class, social and timely factors and severed from man's social practice and the actual human relations, such works depict the so-called supra-class and supra-social human nature and return human nature to animality, to physiological instinct and natural attributes, or they advocate abstract love and abstract humanitarianism and interpret the concrete social contradictions and conceal and distort their essence by means of abstract sermons.

Naturally the conditions and the degrees vary, but they call for earnest consideration. The novel "Soft Grass on the Plains" published not long ago, for instance, is rather representative in nature. It covers up concrete class relations and class contradictions with abstract human nature and abstract humanitarianism, preaches love above everything and transposes the right and wrong of history, as if the antagonism between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party were purposeless, the distinctions between just and unjust, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary wars

did not exist and everything should be unified on the so-called universal love. Taking the standpoint of abstract human nature and abstract humanitarianism, the author completely dissociates himself from the task of observing the social and class relations under specific historical conditions and attempts to solve the social contradictions and conceal their sources with the ravings of love. It is the embodiment of historical idealism and a great mockery of history. Actually, by failing to observe the historical and human social practice and social relations and to make class analyses, the author's characters have no authenticity to speak of. Why did the impoverished widow carry the unconscious reactionary army officer back, and what was the credible psychological motive? Why did she adopt such a detached attitude toward the mortal struggles of the two sides? Where did the young widow's human nature, humanitarianism and universal love come from? No rational basis can be found in the novel. Actually, it is the embodiment of the ideal love created by the author and a shadow of his hollow concepts.

The sermon on love starting from the abstract human nature is nothing new. When analyzing Feuerbach's philosophical thinking, Marx and Engels pointed out incisively that Feuerbach only wanted to substitute the abstract man for the actual man and "advocated the liberation of mankind by means of 'love.'" Engels declared: "With Feuerbach, love is a god which can create miracles at any time and in any place and help him overcome all difficulties in life.... Thus, ...what is left is only an old tune: Let us love each other! Let us embrace each other without distinction of sex or rank--let us drink together to our hearts' content!" Engels mocked that it was impossible to find "the path leading to the living world" in Feuerbach's sermons.<sup>4</sup> Engels criticism was made a century ago. In our socialist state of over 3 decades, we actually hear again the echoes of Feuerbach's theory and the eulogies of abstract human nature and abstract human love to the extent of transposing history and confusing the right and wrong. This situation is not limited to just this one novel. Some authors persist in unearthing the so-called glorious human nature in reactionary figures and the exploiting class and attach human nature like labels on the fiendish enemies. One novel describes how a Kuomintang special agent raped a women Communist Party member and made her pregnant. The culprit felt compassionate and guilty and even wondered whether he should marry her. By means of such depictions, the novel attenuates and obliterates the essence of the culprit's crime and character and dilutes the evil which controlled and determined him, while the woman actually reckoned that the special agent was a man as well as an enemy! It calls for deep thought when the matter is carried to such a preposterous extent and the understanding of the human essence is turned upside down in the pursuit of the abstract human nature apart from class analyses. This is one situation.

There is another situation. Starting from the abstract human nature, the authors return human nature to physiological instincts and natural attributes, explain human nature and man's social nature in terms of natural attributes and take physiological instincts and natural attributes as the objectives of art and the basis of aesthetic perception. This

apparently is also against historical materialism. According to historical materialism, the basic distinction between humans and animals is man's social attributes. Of course, man also has natural attributes, but in the human society, human nature resides in the concrete social relations and remains within the qualitative limits of the sum total of social relations. Describing man's physiological instincts and natural attributes in isolation, apart from the restrictions of the times, society and class, will only lead art to an irrational and unartistic dead-end alley. Some works enthusiastically describe the mutual attraction between the sexes and the psychological activities of simple sexual love. Others blindly advocate that "'sex explosion' is an improvement over 'sexual confinement'" and that "the emancipation of love is an important aspect of the emancipation of man." According to such logic, animals are probably the most "emancipated" organisms in the world, while man should also, like the animals, "emancipate" himself. Is it not a regression? Some works depict man's physiological senses apart from the social environment and relations. One novel, for instance, depicts the terror felt by a worker high above the ground and his fear of falling down like a piece of paper. The book is 10,000 words long, but the reader is not informed of the social environment of the crane worker, the kind of person he was, his thinking and feelings, and the purpose of dwelling on his physiological terror. The reason for the terror came from the worker's physiological instinct, because he feared heights since infancy. Some people praise works of this type as innovation. Actually, rather than innovation, they are themes and techniques exploiting the so-called human weaknesses which have long been abused by Western writers of the modern school. To writers of this kind of novels, only depicting in isolation the type of physiological instincts and psychological activities like terror, apart from social life, can be considered as writing about universal human nature, philosophical and eternal. They even brag that people fail to appreciate their works because of their backward and outmoded aesthetic sense and that only future readers will understand them. Today there is another kind of view: The further removed from politics, the better it is; literature should not deal with the times, but should write about things eternal. Under the influence of this view, some writers avoid the social contradictions and struggles of the new period, dissociate from the reality of the people's endeavor and, taking an attitude of indifference toward the battle of the broad masses on the front line of the four modernizations drive, seek sensual excitement and instinctive satisfaction. Maladjusted to the demands of building a socialist spiritual civilization, this kind of literature has no future to speak of. Russian radical revolutionary democrat Chernyshevski made a trenchant comment on this point: "In terms of its nature, literature, same as all other significant intellectual or ethical pursuits, has to be the embodiment of the desires and the expression of the ideas of the times. The question is what ideology should literature serve. Should it serve an ideology which has no important position in the life of the times and which thereby makes the literature conditioned by it hollow and boring, or should it serve an ideology which propels the progress of the times? The answer to this question requires no hesitation. Only literature under the influence of a powerful and vigorous ideology and

satisfying the urgent demands of the times will flourish."<sup>5</sup> If severed from the reality of the socialist struggle, removed from the guidance of Marxism, the most progressive and most scientific ideology of our times, pursuing the abstract human nature and abstract humanitarianism, moaning and groaning without being ill, and detached from this world, our contemporary literature will dissociate itself from the age, wither and decline. Naturally, it will be counter to the momentous task of building a spiritual civilization in the new period.

There is a third situation. Due to the "Leftist" ideological influence in the past, the depiction of love was once forbidden. It is of course incorrect. As love is a part of social life, there is no question that its depiction will serve to profoundly reveal the social contradictions, epitomize the gigantic historical substances and portray the splendid feelings and spirit of the characters. However, in a recent period, the depictions in this aspect are rather excessive. Like a seasoning, whether necessary or not, some "love" has to be sprinkled. Some works concentrate on love scenes, spreading a mediocre and vulgar interest, even praising the intervention of a third party, commending the so-called love which is totally contrary to the socialist morals and describing it as a social motive force, omnipotent, miraculous and unpredictable. Advocating the supremacy of love, some even go to the extent of distorting the major rights and wrongs of history. Take the following story for instance: An old landowner before liberation took a young concubine, and she had an affair with the landowner's son. This is naturally understandable. The lovers thought that, after the old man died, they would break through the feudal conventions and marry each other openly. It is probably an attempt to show how the feudal conventions were broken down. However, in the struggle against landowners after liberation, they were labeled as landowners, and their marriage was delayed. The delay lasted 3 decades. Only when the landowner labels were removed according to party policy were they able to marry. The idea of the novel is that only then were their human nature, love and personal happiness fulfilled. First of all, the depiction is not authentic, because the state did not forbid landowners to marry. Next, even if the situation was found in real life, the author should describe it with a correct viewpoint. Judged from the novel, the author's sympathy is with the lovers, and he indicates that the long delay of the fulfillment of their happiness was because of our revolution. In other words, the liberation of millions and the land reform were the causes of their misery. Is it not an enormous transposition of history? The abstract observation of human nature and abstract eulogy of love actually cover up completely their lives of exploitation and oppression. Instead of recognizing the liberation of millions from exploitation and oppression and the human rights and normal lives achieved by them, the author declares that the revolution blocked the fulfillment of the love between the landowner's concubine and his son, thereby basically transposing the historical substance and the living truth. The mistakes of this type of works are extremely obvious to start with, but, starting from the abstract human nature, there are people advancing such a view: "Love first emerged in literature in a sort of artistic conception, and true love overcame the artificial political chasm." "In

an ideal love, the only thing which determines man's emotions is the pursuit of a nobler and richer spiritual world. Morals and customs are excluded from the 'only' thing." Isolating love from all social relations and their restrictions, these views vigorously advocate the "supremacy of love." As for what kind of characters, what kind of love, what social substances are reflected and what kind of moral concepts, on consideration is given. Actually, they are hollow ravings, resulting in the enormous transposition of history discussed above.

In addition, there are many confused ideas on human value and dignity. As pointed out in Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article, "according to historical materialism, we cannot discuss 'human value' in abstract, isolated from the concrete conditions of social development, man's labor in society and the relations of the individual with others, the collective, the class and society." Human value signifies, on the one hand, society's recognition of an individual's life and meaning and the degree of society's fulfillment of his survival and developmental needs and, on the other hand, the size of his contributions to society. "No abstract 'human value' has ever existed in history. Different times, different classes and different people have different value concepts." However, advertising the so-called human dignity and human value, some works actually advocate individualism and egoism. Instead of observing and assessing "human dignity" and "human value" in the social and collective interests and relations, they take personal gain or loss as the criterion. Anything which fails to satisfy personal greed or the demands of all kinds of impractical personal enjoyment and freedom is considered as suppression of "human nature" and injury to human dignity and value. According to this ideological standpoint, the noble collectivist spirit becomes damaging to "human dignity and value." It is naturally preposterous. The novelette "The Wreath under the High Mountain," which has evoked a strong response from the readers, depicts the heroic patriots in the counter-attack who sacrificed themselves without hesitation. Their great sense of justice stirs one's soul. Didn't these heroic patriots possess the noblest human dignity and develop human value to the maximum? As pointed out by Comrade Hu Qiaomu in his article, 'when we advocate serving the people heart and soul, it means that we should seek to benefit the majority with our labor and offer our strengths, and even our lives, to the fatherland and the people. In this sense, it is precisely where human dignity and glory reside.' As for some works which, encountering certain social contradictions, stress the so-called moral self-fulfillment and self-perfection, they are actually trapped in idealism. In fact, in regard to certain contradictions and phenomena found in our social life, including irrationalities, we should not seek their solutions in the realm of philosophy or appeal to the abstract human nature and abstract human reason. They can only be gradually solved under conditions compatible with the historical developmental laws, in the political and economic realms and in the revolutionary practice of scientific socialism.

From the conditions discussed above, we can see that fairly complex and chaotic ideological conditions exist in literary creations and theories and on the issue of human nature and humanitarianism. Naturally we must

also point out emphatically that they are partial and minor. After the 3d Plenum and the 12th Party Congress, the revolutionary and realistic main stream of literature as a whole in the new period is sound and powerful. In the course of building a socialist spiritual civilization with the communist ideology as the core, numerous good works popular with the people have produced a strong and beneficial social impact and will continue to do so. It is obvious to all and should not be underestimated.

As for the confusion on the issue of human nature and humanitarianism found in certain works today, it absolutely must not be overlooked. These works are in fact the reflections of social ideological trends of all kinds in literature. Therefore, intensively analyzing and interpreting the phenomenon of human nature and humanitarianism with the Marxist standpoint and viewpoint remains an extremely urgent task today.

I believe that, by earnestly studying Comrade Hu Qiaomu's important article, further improving our ideological level, firmly grasping the ideological weapon of historical materialism and upholding and developing the Marxist tenets on literature, art and science, we will gradually overcome and clear up this type of phenomena and promote the sound development of socialist literature.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Zhou Enlai on Literature," p 81
2. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1 p 84
3. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4 p 827
4. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4 p 236
5. "Chernysshevski on Literature," Vol 1 pp 547-548

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### REFORM OF COMMUNE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM EXPLAINED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Apr 84 p 2

[Article by Ma Lianli [7456 6647 4409]: "Separating Government Administration From Commune Management Is a Major Reform of the Rural Grass-Roots Leadership System"]

[Text] Separating government administration from commune management and establishing township government is a major reform of the rural grass-roots leadership system. This reform is of major significance in strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship and the building of our country's rural grass-roots political power and in realizing the party's general duties and goals.

State power in a people's democratic dictatorship is an organic whole composed of a high degree of unity and multi-level organs. The "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" stipulates that our country's state power is divided into the four levels of the Central Committee, province, county and township. Township power is the basis of state power. In order for a person to have a healthy physique, he must have tens of thousands of strong cell components. "A great mansion is not formed from the branches of one tree." The state power of a strong people's democratic dictatorship is inseparable from myriads of rock-firm grass-roots powers. Grass-roots powers are the basic organization of the political power of a people's democratic dictatorship and the administrative organs in direct contact with the broad masses of people, are thus the most direct bridge and link connecting the party and state with the masses, and the ideological pulse, voice and demands of the masses must be promptly reported through them to all levels of political organizations up to the Central Committee. The party and state's general and specific policies, laws and decrees must be directly carried out to the masses through their work, becoming the masses' real actions. Doing a good job of building grass-roots political power can maintain close ties between the state and the masses, subject it to supervision by the masses, continuously improve the style of state organs and improve work efficiency. Grass-roots political power moreover is responsible for leading and organizing the masses to realize each important task of the state and local areas in the cause of socialist construction, and is an important stopping point for each item of state work. Building grass-roots political power is closely linked to the prosperity and safety of the state, and indeed cannot be looked on with unconcern.

Our country has a vast territory and large population with the rural population constituting 80 percent. Building rural grass-roots political power is thus also of particularly major significance in strengthening our country's people's democratic dictatorship.

Over 20 years of practice has proved that the system of integrating government administration with commune management has weakened the building of the party and the regime and affected socialist economic development. Government is political power and belongs to the superstructure, and communes are the masses' cooperative economic organizations. Only when the superstructure is suited to the economic base and production relations to the level of productive forces can the advantages of the socialist system be fully developed. The constitution thus stipulates changing the system of integrating government administration with commune management and restoring and establishing township government, and the people's communes are only regarded as a form of the cooperative economy. This reform is favorable in strengthening and improving party leadership and in overcoming the phenomena of there being no distinction between party and government and the party not minding its business. After separating government administration from commune management, township party committees can be freed from specific daily routines, go deep into the realities of life, investigate and study, ensure the implementation of the party line, principles and policies, and strengthen the leadership of political organization and the supervision and inspection of its work, enabling it to advance in the proper direction. Moreover, separating government administration from commune management can enable organs of political power to be freed from a lot of specific routines, to conscientiously exercise each of their own functions and powers, to concentrate their forces on doing a good job of building the regime itself, and to overcome the abuses of government not minding its business and there being no distinction between government and enterprises. Cooperative economic organizations can organize production according to the objective laws of socialist economic development. Separating government administration from commune management is thus favorable in strengthening the building of grass-roots political power and in the development and prosperity of the socialist economy. While establishing township work experiments in our province, the masses in many areas were jubilant about establishing township government, beat drums and gongs, set off firecrackers and enthusiastically celebrated. This has fully proved the special support of the masses for this reform and shown that reform of the system of integrating government administration with commune management is a requirement for the four modernizations and a historical necessity. But many new situations and problems have also appeared during this reform requiring us to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to give theoretical explanations in order to raise everyone's consciousness and to strengthen and develop the results of the reform.

In the opening speech at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping profoundly pointed out that "Combining Marxism's universal truths with our country's specific realities, travelling our own road and building socialism with distinctive Chinese features is the basic conclusion reached from our summary of long-term historical experience." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 372). Proceeding from reality and building socialist grass-roots political organizations with distinctive Chinese features is an urgent

political task facing us. We will now discuss certain views on the problems of building township government.

First, party leadership is the nucleus for building grass-roots political power. We are a socialist country, party leadership is the nucleus for building political power, and this point must be very clear and certainly not vague. The key to solving this problem is the need to have leading groups which carry forward the party's fine traditions and style and which maintain close ties with the masses. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said that "Leading groups are the operational headquarters." "If the headquarters is not strong, operations will be powerless." "The problem of leading groups is related to the problem of whether the party line can be carried out. If this problem is not solved, it cannot be said that the masses have been led forward, and there will be difficulties in both beginning and moving." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 9) Separating government administration from commune management and establishing township government is only the beginning of building grass-roots political power, and many theoretical and practical problems must be conscientiously studied in future practice, and can only be solved by devotion to their exploration.

Second, strengthening the township people's congress system is the basic problem in building grass-roots political power. In building grass-roots political power, we must have the basic guiding ideology of ensuring that the people are the masters. Our country's people's congress system is the basic form for realizing socialist democracy. The township people's congress is the organ of township power. Township government is the administrative organ which carries out the resolutions of the township people's congress and the decisions and orders of the higher state administrative authorities and manages administrative work within local administrative regions. Fundamentally speaking, the work of strengthening political power is also the work of strengthening the people's congresses. "All important work of the people's government should be discussed and decided upon by the people's congresses. It is necessary to enable delegates attending people's congresses to have the full right to speak, and all activity suppressing the speech of the people's delegates is in error." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 19) Not doing it this way violates this basic aim of the people being the masters. How to strengthen the township people's congress system requires our thorough study through practice. We will tentatively consider these points: 1. We must conscientiously carry out an election system, and based on "Constitutional" stipulations, delegates must be directly elected by voters; 2. We must uphold all township people's congress systems; 3. We must strengthen and carry out the right of the masses and the people's delegates to supervise and recall township cadres; and 4. We must establish and strengthen the contact system between township government and the people's delegates and fully develop the delegates' roles and increase their sense of responsibility of being the masters. In this way, township people's congresses can be established and become vigorous and authoritative organs of grass-roots political power.

Third, developing the socialist economy is the central duty of township party committees and governments. A major function of grass-roots political power is ensuring the development and prosperity of the socialist economy. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the rural economy has

been full of vitality, reflecting that the party Central Committee's line, principles and policies have been in line with national conditions and popular feelings. A major task in building rural grass-roots political power is the need to develop the excellent rural situation since the 3d Plenary Session and to promote development of the rural commodity economy. How can we do a good job of stressing economic work relations between party, government and enterprises in specific work? Briefly, the major responsibility of township party committees in managing the economy is in making major policy decisions for economic work, in strategic development planning and in general and specific policies, directions and political and ideological work. The major responsibility of government is to use laws, decrees and economic laws and regulations to ensure and support economic development, to do a good job of service work, and to investigate planning measures. Specifically, first is to organize production according to state planning; second is to use law to ensure that the legal rights and interests of each cooperative economy and "double household" economy are not violated and to attack the destructive activities of lawless elements; and third is to ensure the implementation of the party's economic policies and measures for all economic service work. This can overcome the method of relying only on administrative orders to run the economy, and achieve good economic results. Guided by state planning and based on economic law and the masses' wishes, the major responsibility of economic organizations is to develop the productive forces on a large scale and to enliven the economy, enabling people throughout the townships to become wealthy as quickly as possible.

In developing rural grass-roots political organizations to promote economic development, building market towns is a problem which must be given a lot of attention. Establishing a new town and country economic network centered in towns, based in the rural areas and linked to market towns, is an important measure and channel suited to the needs of vigorously developing commodity production. It is thus necessary to have unified planning and rational distribution in the work of building township government. Planning must be thought over carefully and distribution must be convenient to the masses. This is a component part of building socialism with distinctive Chinese features.

Fourth, doing a good job of building mass autonomous organizations is the foundation for carrying out socialist democracy. In building grass-roots political power, it is essential to do a good job of building autonomous organizations of a mass character. Article 111 of the "Constitution" stipulates that "Town and country neighborhood committees established in the areas where residents live or village people's committees are grass-roots autonomous organizations of a mass character." In grass-roots social life, it is necessary to strengthen the building of autonomous organizations of a mass character in order to arouse the masses to educate and manage themselves and to do a good job of running their own public affairs and enterprises. It is necessary to mediate quarrels among the people, help to do a good job of maintaining social public order, report the masses' views and needs to the people's government, and propose better views for government work. Realizing these stipulations will enable our country's socialist democracy to further develop. Experimental practice in building township government has proved that doing a good

job of building village people's autonomous organizations of a mass character is an important guarantee of building new socialist rural areas of "two civilizations." In order to do a good job of building rural mass autonomous organizations, there are two key links which must be stressed: One is giving the masses a free hand to elect people to handle their own affairs, and the other is mobilizing the masses to formulate village rules and people's agreements from below.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said that reform is a revolution and moreover a very profound one, and is a change in the order of the system and in certain system abuses. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, practice has progressively proved that only by carrying out reform can the country prosper and the four modernizations be realized. Since reform is a revolution, its course will not be calm and tranquil, and it will be natural to meet obstacles on the road. But provided we have revolutionary courage and insight and a realistic approach, we can achieve victory. Major present reform obstacles come from: First, "left" ideological fetters; second, the effect of the force of habit; and third, a passive and wait-and-see attitude. Some people judge new things which appear in reform by old standards, do not use reform practice to test their understanding but use erroneous understanding to prune reform practice, talk a lot about reform but are deficient in theory, are overcritical, and seem to regress to the old path and give up. Our attitude should be to not follow the old abuses in everything new, and that victory always belongs to people with lofty ideals who boldly explore and blaze new trails.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS DISCUSSED

Beijing TONGJI in Chinese No 6, 17 Jun 84 pp 16-17

[Article by the Division of Social Statistics of the State Bureau of Statistics: "The Development of Our Country's Educational Undertakings During Consolidation"]

[Text] In 1983, China's educational undertakings achieved marked results as the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidation and improvement continued to be implemented. General schools of higher learning enjoyed relatively rapid development; the number of agricultural and vocational high schools increased, and as a result of readjustment the quality of general high schools and elementary schools has been enhanced. Various forms of adult education have also undertaken further development.

#### Fairly Rapid Development of General Schools of Higher Learning

In 1983, the number of general schools of higher learning in China reached 805, among these, 536 were universities and colleges, 217 were junior colleges, and 52 were short-term vocational colleges. Compared with the previous year, the number of normal colleges increased by 16, the number of colleges of science and engineering increased by 9, that of colleges of finance and economics by 8, comprehensive universities by 4, and colleges of forestry and political science and law each by 1. The number of medical and pharmaceutical colleges decreased by 1, but the number of short-term vocational universities increased by 33.

During this year, general schools of higher learning enrolled 391,000 students, which is 76,000 more than the previous year, an increase of 24.1 percent. Among the 391,000 enrolled, the number of students increased by 60.8 percent in the study of finance and economics, 52.9 percent in literature, 39.8 percent in forestry, 39 percent in political science and law, and 27.7 percent in engineering. The increase in enrollment was due to the fact that various regions earnestly implemented policies of the party Central Committee and the State Council to accelerate the development of higher education and adopted numerous administrative structures, standards and formal teachings and strived to tap potentialities to actively increase enrollment figures.

In the entire year, there were 335,000 graduates of general schools of higher learning, among which 111,000 were from the school of industrial science, 90,000 from the school of education, 55,000 from the school of medicine, 21,000 from the school of natural sciences, 18,000 from the school of liberal arts, 17,000 from the school of agricultural science, 13,000 from the school of finance and economics, 3,000 from the school of political science and law, 3,000 from the school of physical education, 3,000 from the school of forestry and 1,000 from the school of fine arts.

In 1983, the number of students enrolled in general schools of higher learning reached 1,207,000, which was an increase of 4.6 percent over the previous year. Students studying industrial science, agriculture, forestry, medicine and natural sciences accounted for 59.6 percent of the 1,207,000, those studying education accounted for 26 percent, liberal arts, finance and economics, and political science and law 13 percent, physical education and fine arts 1.4 percent.

The number of teachers, workers and staff members of general schools of higher learning reached 763,000, among these, 303,000 (or 39.7 percent) were full-time teachers--this was an increase of 5.69 percent over the previous year, and 187,000 held the position of lecturer or above. Among the 187,000, 5,000 became professors, 32,000 associate professors and 150,000 lecturers.

**The Number of Technical Secondary Schools and Agricultural and Vocational Middle Schools Increases. The Number of General Middle and Elementary Schools Continues To Drop.**

In 1983, there were 105,000 secondary schools of various kinds, which was 3,000 fewer than the previous year. Among the 105,000 secondary schools, 3,090 were technical secondary schools, which was an increase of 14; 5,481 were agricultural or vocational middle schools, which was an increase of 2,377; 18,876 were senior high schools, which was a decrease of 1,998; and 77,598 were junior high schools, which was a decrease of 3,177.

During the entire year, secondary schools of various kinds recruited 21.3 million students, which was down by 267,000 from the previous year. Among the 21.3 million, 478,000 enrolled in technical secondary schools, which was an increase of 58,000; 757,000 enrolled in agricultural and vocational middle schools, which was a huge increase of 331,000; 2,593,000 enrolled in senior high schools, which was a decrease of 195,000; and 13,170,000 enrolled in junior high schools, which was a decrease of 461,000.

During the entire year, 12,545,000 students graduated from secondary schools of various kinds, which was down by 1,459,000 compared with the previous year. Among the 12,545,000, 375,000 graduated from technical secondary schools, which was a decrease of 71,000; 2,351,000 from senior high schools, which was a decrease of 755,000; 9,603,000 from junior high schools, which was a decrease of 718,000; 216,000 from agricultural and vocational middle schools, which was an increase of 85,000.

The number of students enrolled in secondary schools of various kinds was 46,340,000, down by 688,000 from the previous year. Among the 46,340,000 enrolled, 1,143,000 were enrolled in secondary vocational schools, which was up by 104,000; 1,220,000 enrolled in agricultural and vocational middle schools, up by 516,000; 6,290,000 enrolled in senior high schools, down by 115,000; 37,687,000 in junior high schools, down by 1,193,000. Significant changes occurred in the unitary structure of secondary education.

In 1983, the number of elementary schools in the entire country was 862,000, down by 18,000 from the previous year. The number of elementary students recruited was 25,440,000, down by 1,277,000; the number of elementary school graduates was 19,807,000, down by 882,000. The number of students enrolled was 135,780,000, which was a decrease of 3,940,000. The reason for the decrease in the enrollment of elementary school students was the drop in birthrates in recent years, and the reduced number of school age children. In 1983, the enrollment rate of school age children reached 94 percent, which was up by 1 percent over the previous year.

The quality of high school and elementary school teachers continued to climb. Among full-time senior high school teachers, 40.4 percent (up from 38.9 percent) taught subjects which had been their majors while in college. Among full-time junior high school teachers, 21.2 percent (up from 18.4 percent) had received at least 2 years of university education. Among full-time elementary school teachers, 56.1 percent (up from 54.6 percent) were graduates of secondary normal schools or high schools.

#### The Development of Adult Education of Various Kinds

In 1983, adult and higher education enjoyed relatively rapid development. The number of students enrolled reached 1,128,000. Among these, 926,000 enrolled in colleges for professional training of which 414,000 enrolled in television broadcasting schools, 448,000 were staff and workers and peasants who enrolled in correspondence classes, night classes in colleges and colleges of cadre administration; and 64,000 enrolled in classes for advanced studies for high-school teachers. The number of students in colleges for professional training was 282,000 more than the previous year, which was an increase of 43.8 percent.

Secondary schools for adults had a total enrollment of 9,748,000. Among these, 2,366,000 enrolled in secondary vocational schools for adults, 6,445,000 in adult high schools, and 937,000 in schools for advanced studies for elementary teachers.

The number of people enrolled in elementary schools for adults reached 8,172,000, among which 2,885,000 enrolled in elementary classes, and 5,287,000 in classes for illiterates.

#### A Few Suggestions

1. Fully develop the potential of higher education teachers and accelerate the nurturing of talent. In 1983, the national average of college students

(students in adult higher education schools included) per 10,000 people was only 21--much lower than those in advanced countries. But the potential of teachers of schools of higher learning had not been utilized to the greatest extent. In 1983, there were on the average only one full-time teacher for every four students in general schools of higher learning. If based on the average number of 5.1 for 1981, student enrollment could increase to 338,000. Therefore, how the capability of teachers of schools of higher learning can be fully developed is an issue that needs to be addressed immediately. We would like to suggest that the responsible departments should come up with a consistent ratio between teachers and students according to the circumstances China faces. Moreover, higher education teachers ought to be organized to participate in the instruction of adult higher education.

2. We should accelerate the development of technical secondary schools, and gradually change the improper ratio between technical secondary school students and higher education students. The ratio between students enrolled in colleges and those in technical secondary schools was 1:0.95. The ratio between college graduates and technical secondary school graduates was 1:1.12. The percentage of technical secondary school graduates in many scientific research institutions, production agencies and managerial departments is very small. A lot of work that can be handled by technical secondary school graduates is being done by college graduates. A lot of talent has thus been wasted. We would like to suggest that various areas and departments should develop technical secondary education and increase the number of recruitment actively in order to meet the demand for technical secondary talent in the four modernizations drive.

3. As we readjust and reform secondary education, we should not over-regulate general high schools. In 1983, the number of general high schools dropped by 66,000 (or a decrease of 40.7 percent) over that in 1978. The number of students enrolled dropped by 21,505,000, a decrease of 32.8 percent. Extrapolation based upon the 1982 census indicates that in 1983 the number of people between the ages of 12 and 16 will reach 130 million, but only 40 million, or 31 percent, of these people will attend high schools. In 1983, only 67.3 percent of elementary school graduates went on to receive junior high school education; only 35.5 percent of the junior high school graduates (schools for skilled workers not included) continued to receive higher education. It is our view that related departments should not continue to regulate the development of general course high schools until technical secondary (professional) education has been popularized. We should relax restrictions on those areas that have already been over-regulated according to realistic needs in order to meet the demands of the massive number of teenagers and children.

4. Effective measures should be taken to educate illiterates and popularize elementary education. In China there are presently 230 million people who are either completely or semi-illiterate. Among the 230 million, 90 million are young and able-bodied adults between the ages of 18 and 45, and only 6 percent of these people are attending classes designed for adult illiterates. This indicates that the task to eliminate illiteracy still faces obstacles and more efforts must be made in order to develop illiteracy classes in 1983.

The enrollment rate of 44 percent of school age children is under 95 percent. Most of these students live in the southwest and northwest regions that are economically and culturally backward. These areas are plagued with problems such as insufficient education funds, inadequate and obsolete school buildings and a lack of school equipment. We would like to suggest agencies in charge to devise plans to popularize primary education and to take practical and effective measures to decrease student mobility, increase enrollment capacity and to upgrade the quality of students. In particular, they should pay special attention to the popularization of primary education in economically backward areas in order to assure the thorough popularization of primary education nationwide by 1990.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POPULATION POLICIES, CHANGES IN CHINA DISCUSSED

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 2, 29 Mar 84 pp 9-12

[Article by Liu Zheng [0491 6927]: "Changes in China's Population Policies and Situation"]

[Text] Each country has its own particular political, economic, cultural and population characteristics. Each nation also has corresponding differences in the nature of its population problems and in methods for solving them. The developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced by a contradiction between overly-rapid population growth and a lack of corresponding economic development.

There are historical reasons for the appearance of this contradiction, especially in the economic and cultural backwardness that are the legacy of long periods of colonial rule. There are, of course, real reasons as well. Today, the developing countries are solving their population problems by formulating developmental strategies and population policies based on their own national conditions. It is not only the developing countries that face population problems. The developed countries also are facing such unsolved problems as unemployment, poverty and other population problems.

The facts have proven that correct population policies play an important role in the solution of population problems and in the promotion of economic development and social progress. Each country begins with its own national conditions. For this reason, we cannot use a single yardstick to evaluate the population policies of each country.

The basic focus of China's population policies is to limit the population size, improve the quality of the population and make the population correspond to social and economic development in order to promote the achievement of the four modernizations. This policy was formulated under the guidance of correct theories and is closely integrated with reality in China. We feel that a population's size and growth are determined by the level of the forces of production and by the socioeconomic system. They are also influenced to a certain degree by culture, religious beliefs, tradition and customs, ideas related to fertility and other factors. In contrast, under certain social and economic conditions, the size and growth of a population also have a very

strong influence on the development of the social forces of production and can promote or retard them. Whether they actually promote or retard them is determined by whether or not the population and its growth meet the objective needs of developing the social forces of production. This is an important foundation for the formulation of population policies in China.

China is a country with a socialist planned economy. The state develops the economy, science and culture in a planned manner to achieve the strategic goal of socialist modernization and construction. Similarly, population development also must be included in the state's unified economic and social development plans and should be coordinated with the pace of economic and social development plans and should be coordinated with the pace of economic development and social progress. There should be a planned correspondence between population growth and economic and social development on the basis of unified state plans. This is another theoretical basis for the formulation of population policies in our country.

China's actual conditions are: a large population, a rapid growth rate, a low level of development of the social forces of production and a thin base. Shortly after the founding of the PRC, population reproduction was in a state of high birth rates, high death rates and low growth rates. Although the population death rate has decreased substantially since the founding of the country, high birth rates have continued. This has led to the maintenance of a rapid natural population growth rate of 2 percent. The population took on a tendency toward high birth rates, low death rates and high growth rates. In another area, there has been substantial development of the forces of production since the founding of the country. The people's standard of living has been obviously improved, but the level of economic development still is low.

In this way, a major contradiction has been created between the large and rapidly growing population of poor quality and the relatively backward economy and inadequate development of science, culture and education. Economic underdevelopment is the primary aspect of this contradiction. To resolve it, China on the one hand has formulated magnificent strategic goals for economic development and is striving to quadruple the total value of industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century and to achieve the tasks of modernization and construction as soon as possible. This is of fundamental importance. At the same time, we also have formulated goals for population control and substantially controlled population growth. The fertility rate and the natural population growth rate have been stabilized or reduced and we are striving to limit the population to 1.2 billion by the end of the century. We also have adopted effective measures to improve population quality in a planned manner.

We feel that the population policies of our country are scientific products of correct theories and are closely integrated with the realities of our country. We have controlled population growth in a planned manner. This has benefitted the development of the social forces of production and has improved the people's standard of living. This is totally suited to the personal and fundamental interests of the people of our country. The

actual birth control policies that are correct at any particular time are determined by real conditions at different periods and different stages. During the first part of the 1970's, the real requirements of family planning were late marriage, movement to sparsely populated areas and fewer number of children. When it was proposed at the end of the 1970's that the achievement of socialist modernization and improvement of the people's living standards were to be the strategic tasks, the population base of China was too large, there was a young population age structure and there was still a tendency toward overly rapid population growth. The popular masses already had fairly commonly accepted family planning. It was proposed that there be late marriage, late births, fewer births and improved births, and work in this area was refocused on having each couple produce only one child. Of course, the concrete requirements must follow the passage of time and changes in the population situation, and they should be changed according to time and place. Our country is a unified nation of many nationalities. There are 55 minorities in addition to the Han nationality. The population, economic and cultural conditions of each minority are quite different. For this reason, under the leadership of overall national population policies, the actual birth policy of each minority autonomous region is formulated according to the conditions of the nationality themselves.

We have always felt that the solution to the population problem cannot be detached from economic development, improvement of science and education, and popularization of medicine and sanitation. Only by including population in economic and social development strategies and treating it as an important component will it be possible to formulate effective and correct population policies and only then will they assist in solving the population problem. The population problem has always been an extremely important question in the economic and social development of China. Controlling population growth was raised to a strategic degree in the 1970's, especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It is related to the future of socialist modernization in our country and has become a basic national policy.

Under the concrete leadership of the State Family Planning Commission and its local organizations at all levels, we have adhered to the guiding principle of integrating state guidance with voluntarism of the masses and have had guidance according to categories. We have adhered to an emphasis of making propaganda and education, contraception and birth control, and day-to-day work the primary aspects of our work methods. We have adhered to the mass line. All of this has made family planning a household word and has caused everyone to be concerned with it. We have obtained obvious successes and have brought about profound changes in China's population conditions. These changes are manifested primarily in the following areas:

#### 1. Stabilization and Decline In Female Fertility Rates

The decline in fertility rates is a significant indicator of the obvious achievements in family planning. There have been declines in both the total fertility rate index and the complete fertility rate index. There has been a yearly decline in the total fertility rate since the 1970's with the exception of 1979 and 1981. It was 5.812 in 1970, 5.442 in 1971, 4.984

in 1972, 4.539 in 1973, 4.17 in 1974, 3.571 in 1975, 3.235 in 1976, 2.844 in 1977, 2.716 in 1978, 2.745 in 1979, and 2.238 in 1980. This is slightly higher than the replacement level. The increase in 1981 was due to an increase in the marriage rate and other causes.

A sample survey of birth rates in Beijing Municipality in 1981 showed that, along with continuation of family planning work, female complete fertility rates have declined by age group. The female complete fertility rate for the age 61 group was 5.17. It was 4.59 for the age 51 group, and the accumulated birth rate for women in the age 41 group fell to 2.91 and was only 2.31 for women in the age 31 group, which is near the replacement level. Women in the ages 41 and 35 groups have not yet reached the end of their child-bearing period, so this is not a comprehensive complete fertility rate value. The data on birth rates for women in the age 51 group that have reached the end of their child-bearing period show that the number of births after age 35 are only slightly more than 10 percent of the complete fertility rate. Along with the massive effort to extoll and implement family planning, the fertility rate and the number of births as a proportion of the complete fertility rate of women in the lower age group after 35 years must continue to decline. An example is the fertility rate of 1.81 percent for women in the age 41 group when they were between the ages of 35 and 39, which is substantially less than the 7.47 percent fertility rate for women during the same age range that are now in the age 51 group. For this reason, the accumulated fertility rate of women in the age 41 and 35 groups will basically approximate the complete fertility rate.

The decline in female fertility rates is an inevitable result of the fact that late marriage, later births and fewer births have increasingly become part of the awareness of the broad masses of women. There has been an obvious increase in the age of first marriage. The national average age of women at first marriage was 19.02 years in the 1950's and 19.81 in the 1960's. It increased to 21.59 years in the 1970's and increased again in 1981 to 22.82 years.

The average age of women giving birth to their first child has gone up. According to a sample survey carried out jointly in 1981 by the Beijing Municipal Family Planning Commission and the Chinese People's University Population Theory Research Institute, the average age of women in the age 67 group in Beijing Municipality when they gave birth to their first child was 22.37 years old. This figure was 22.64 years old for the age 61 group and 22.3 years old for the age 51 group. This shows that the average age was between 22 and 23 before and just after the founding of the country. The age of women who gave birth to their first child in the age 41 group was postponed to 24 years and was postponed even more to 24.8 years for women in the age 35 group. This is about 2 1/2 years later than it was right after the founding of the country. Fewer births is especially the result of advocating that a couple should only have one child. This is manifested in the fact that there has been an increase in the number of first-born children in the total number of infants born each year and a decrease in the proportion of second- and third-born children and the ones beyond that. There was a relatively high rate of births past the third-born child before the wide-scale development

of family planning. This figure was as high as 62.21 percent in 1970, with only 20.73 percent being first-born. After family planning was promulgated in the urban and rural areas of China in the 1970's, the birth rate for children after the first-born declined to 44.55 percent and the first-born rate increased to 30.86 percent. There have been quite obvious achievements since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The broad masses of women have increased their awareness of family planning even more, and the beyond the first-born birth rate dropped to 28.08 percent in 1981, while the first-born birth rate rose to 46.57 percent.

## 2. Changes in the Age Structure

The stabilization and decline of the female fertility rate has naturally led to a decrease in the proportion of children in the population. Population census data shows that the population in the 0 to 14 age group was 36.27 percent of the total population in 1953. It was 40.69 percent in 1964 and had fallen to 33.60 percent in 1982. The proportion of the population in the 0 to 9 age group has decreased even more rapidly. It was 26.80 percent in 1953, 28.17 percent in 1964, and had fallen to 20.47 percent in 1982. The population in the 0 to 9 age group in 1982 was born from 1973 up to the time of the 1982 census. The major decline in the population in this age group sharply illustrates that China has been successful in the area of population control. The changing age structure of the population also shows that the median age is increasing. It was 20.2 years of age in 1964 and had risen more than 2 years to nearly 23 years of age in 1982. Changes in the age structure are manifested in the increasing proportion of the population that is over 65 years of age, which was 4.91 percent in 1982, 3.56 percent in 1964 and 4.41 percent in 1953.

If we take 40 percent of a total population being in the 0 to 14 age group as an indicator of a younger population, then the age structure of the Chinese population is changing from a younger to an older one. If we consider a population with less than 5 percent of its total being old people to be a young population, then the population of China is now almost a mature one.

The above changes in the population age structure lessen the contradiction between population growth and socioeconomic development, and they also lighten the pressure on elementary and middle school education, employment and housing. This benefits socioeconomic development, improves the people's standard of living and accelerates the pace of socialist modernization and construction. In another area, a decline in the proportion of women of marriage and child-bearing age will begin 10 years from now, which will benefit the control of population growth.

## 3. A Decline in the Natural Population Growth Rate and An Absolute Decrease in the Birth Rate Compared to the 1960's and Early 1970's.

There have been only minor changes in the death rate since the 1970's, while there has been a major decline in the birth rate. The birth rate has dropped from 30 at the beginning of the 1970's to about 20 at present. The natural

population growth rate has declined from 2 percent and higher at the beginning of the 1970's to about 1.4 percent at present. Data from the 1982 census show that there has been a 2.1 percent average annual natural population growth rate of the total population of all 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions since the second census (1964). This shows that there was a relatively high natural population growth rate over this 18-year period. If we use 1973 to divide this 18-year period into two periods, then we can see clearly that the average annual natural population growth rate from 1964 to 1973 was 2.68 percent, which greatly exceeds the average annual growth rate over the entire 18-year period. It dropped dramatically to 1.51 percent during the second 9-year period (1974-1982), which was a substantial decline of more than 1.0 percent.

As for the conditions of the total population and the increase in women of child-bearing age, the number of births and the amount of natural growth has undergone a major decline. There was an average of around 25 million births per year in the 1960's and early 1970's. The average number of births per year has now been reduced to around 20 million. The average annual increase in population from 1964 to 1973 was 20.74 million persons per year. The average annual increase during the 9-year period from 1974 to 1982 was reduced to 14.10 million persons.

These changes in the population situation in China illustrate effectively that there have been obvious successes in family planning and controlling population growth. However, there still is a major discrepancy from the state's demands for overall goals in controlling population growth, and we must struggle arduously if we are to achieve them.

In order to achieve its national population control goals, China has focused population control on rural areas. This is due to the fact that 80 percent of the total national population is rural and that the rural female fertility rate is much higher than the urban rate.

Table 1 shows that total fertility rates in both urban and rural areas are declining, but it also shows that the complete fertility rate in rural areas is more than double that in urban areas. The rural complete fertility rate is also higher than in urban areas.

Table 1. Comparison of Rural and Urban Total Fertility Rates

Year	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Rural	6.011	5.503	5.008	4.642	3.951	3.582	3.116	2.968	3.045	2.480	2.910
Urban	2.882	2.637	2.387	1.982	1.782	1.608	1.574	1.551	1.373	1.147	1.390

From analysis of demographic factors, the higher female fertility rate in rural areas is due to earlier ages at marriage and birth and to a greater number of births after the first-born in rural than in urban areas.

The average age of first marriage in the 1950's was 18.76 years in rural areas and 20.13 in urban areas. The respective figures were 19.43 years in 22.10 years during the 1960's, 21.21 years and 23.99 years during the 1970's, and 22.07 years and 24.93 years in 1982. The average age at first birth in 1980 was 23.9 years in rural areas and 26.9 years in urban areas. The figures in 1981 were 23.8 years and 26.4 years, respectively. If we distinguish between urban and rural areas in calculation of the number of births at or after the third-born child, then the rate was 31 percent in rural areas and 9.1 percent in urban areas. The rural areas are obviously quite higher than the urban areas.

Table 2. Urban and Rural Female Complete Fertility Rates in Beijing

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Urban Areas</u>	<u>Rural Areas</u>
67	4.52	5.66
61	4.50	5.95
51	3.89	5.80
41	2.33	3.75
35	1.59	2.58

The rural age structure is also younger than the urban age structure. According to data from the 1982 census, 26.02 percent of the city population and 28.44 percent of the town population were in the 0 to 14 age group. This figure for rural areas was 35.37 percent. This shows that the number of people who will be giving birth in the future is much greater in rural than in urban areas.

China's population is 80 percent rural. The age structure of the rural population and the marriage and birth conditions of rural women has a decisive influence on national population development trends and on the completion of population control goals. It is obvious that China is totally correct in making rural areas the focus of family planning and population control work.

Chinese demographers and those actually involved in work will come to have ever-increasing amounts of population data as there is continual collection and publication of population census information and more national and regional population investigations. There should be even more intensive development of research work on the current population situation and trends in China and on how to effectively achieve our country's population control goals. This conference has given Chinese demographers an opportunity to exchange scholarly viewpoints with scholars from all over the country. This has strengthened understanding and cooperation, and I would like to use this opportunity to express my best wishes to all the scholars.

FOOTNOTES

1. Data for Beijing Municipality were taken from the Joint Investigation Group of the Beijing Municipality Family Planning Commission and the Chinese People's University Population Theory Research Institute. See RENKOU YANJIU, No 1, 1983.
2. For census data, see the primary data from the 1953, 1964 and 1982 population censuses and "Analysis of Some Points on China's Population Conditions." The data on age structures for 1982 is based on a 10 percent preliminary data summary.
3. For other data, see "Analysis of a Sample Survey of 1/1000 of the National Population" in RENKOU HE JINGJI ZHUANKAN [SPECIAL ISSUE ON POPULATIONS AND ECONOMICS]

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CORRUPTION OF CITY GRAIN BUREAU CADRES REVEALED

Beijing BAOGAO WENXUE [REPORTAGE] in Chinese No 6, Jun 84 pp 21-32

[Article by Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159]: "Let Me Tell You Some Secret"]

[Text] My general impression upon entering Shuangyashan is tranquillity. Today there are some fairly good paved roads and decent buildings and the design the new bus station is rather nice. The first Friendship Bridge has been built.... Everyone praises the benevolent administration of Mayor Wang Hongtu [3769 3163 0956].

However, during the absence of all these amenities in the past 3 decades, there was hardly any complaint among the people. Our people respect and trust the leadership and they are also reserved. Only the collectors of folk rhymes can more or less detect some of their true sentiments: "One lamp for one street; one loudspeaker for the whole city. Two storied buildings on one avenue; one monkey for one park!" It is a partial summary of 3 decades of urban construction, because it has left out the streets filled with trash and the sewage flowing free. Even so, it is not quite the same as described in the government work report at the people's congress.

But Mayor Wang Hongtu cannot solve all the problems. The difficulty of one lavatory per 500 people experienced once daily by the townspeople cannot be solved for the time being. Imagine how many latrines have to be built in order to reduce the ratio to half! Let alone the fact that the need is not just once a day. Last year only 30 new dwelling units were built with city revenue! In a city of more than 400,000, the figure is shocking.

Thus, the reactions of the residents of the city to the achievements of the municipal leadership do not stop at making rhymes. In a letter from Shuangyashan received by me, a resident wrote: "I don't know why, but it seems that Shuangyashan's sunshine is not as warm as elsewhere."

It probably is not because the city is at a high latitude.

The Inferior Excels the Superior

Shuangyashan's geographical position is indeed somewhat peculiar. Located in the northeast corner of China's Northeast, it is the last town in that

direction. From Beijing, two transfers of train are required. The RENMIN RIBAO is 2 or 3 days late.

"It is too isolated here," a young comrade tells me. "The people here are somewhat wooden." "Wooden" means "apathetic."

Thus, the things described by me here are of a certain peculiarity, not seen in many other parts of China.

Japan has an "unmanned factor:" Parts manufacturing, assembling and quality inspection are all done by machines and instruments. As for Shuangyashan, sometimes one wonders whether it is an unmanned city.

The city is a distribution center of the annual grain output of the Sanjiang plant. When Heilongjiang's grain output cannot support its more than 20 million population, a part of the grain shipped in is also stored here. Thus, there are many granaries. However, though we are in possession of some grain storage techniques and systems, mildewing and deterioration are frequent. Hundreds of tons of crushed corn become mildewed and wheat germinates. The rest is often left in puddles in the processing shop. Dismantled and revised time and again, the all-pneumatic flour mill designed by engineer Pang Bingquan [1690 3521 2938] is a mess, resulting in the lowering flour output rate year after year and extremely poor quality. The Shuangyashan people like crushed corn, yet the monthly ration per capita is only 2 jin. Is there a shortage? Actually, large quantities are running a fever in the granaries. When the high-grade wheat shipped in from outside areas reaches the townspeople's dinner tables, it turns into black and gritty buns or sticky bread made of "sprouted wheat." For years the Shuangyashan people have been eating grain smelling of mildew and containing cancer causing substances and aflatoxin.

The city's conditions for industrial development are very good to start with. In the first place, there is no energy problem: With the coal mines right next to it, the plants do not have to "open 1 day and close another" because of power shortage. In the second place, as a developing city, its burden of remolding old industries is not heavy. Yet how is the local industry? Most of the plants of the first light industrial bureau are half dead and precarious, some already expired and others appearing incurable. Without electronics industry, the machine industry depends on flat-nose pliers and chain blocks. Losses occur every year. The industrial growth rate for the first half of 1983 was 2 percent and it came from the commune and brigade enterprises. A comrade of the materials bureau remarked: "If this situation continues, when will quadrupling be achieved?"

An "unmanned city?" Of course not. There are people in charge, except one may feel that the masters here seem to be unconcerned or arbitrary, acting without method or, like eccentrics, deliberately messing things up....

Is it personnel shortage, making it impossible to tend to everything? Just cadres of the bureau and office levels promoted in recent years come to 500 or 600; the number of those living on "government grain" cannot be considered small. Perhaps the problem is in the human quality.

"Free gift" is a term in the language here. It refers to those who bungle anything they handle and whom no one wants even if for free. People mention someone by the name of Li Junchuan [2621 0193 1557] in the grain bureau who is a "free gift." He once worked in the oil and rice plant but was found unfit; transferred to the Jianshan district grain management office, again couldn't do anything; subsequently assigned as leader of the flour mill, again a mess. Without alternative, he was assigned leadership functions in the labor union. Though not qualified for anything, he remains a bureaucrat, and the position cannot be too low and promotion has to be continuous. Today Li Junchuan is a cadre of the assistant bureau chief level.

However, you must not assume that a "free gift" is totally unskilled. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" in other years when people were jailed and tortured, Li Junchuan was absolutely not a "free gift". After a prisoner was bound up and a burlap bag slipped over his head, when should it start? It depended on Li Junchuan's signals. If he walked out with his hands behind him, it meant "partners, proceed!" At this time, the conductor outside the window could hear the most stirring music inside the room. If the prisoner refused to confess after a flogging and a soft approach was called for, Li Junchuan would return. The burlap bag would be removed from the prisoner's head and Li Junchuan would put on an entirely different expression on his face. He would rush forward to express his solicitude, saying with a smile: "How did this happen?! I am sorry I was one step late and you had to go through all this!"

Nor is a "free gift" a "gift" in another aspect. Someone by the name of Ma xx could hardly read. Not content as a member of the grain bureau's finance section, he was promoted as chief of the Beishan grain management office. The eight grain stores under it needed annual maintenance and repair.

Ma xx contracted all the work to a shady contracting team of someone by the name of Dai Baoshan [2071 1045 1472]. Dai was very generous. Right off he tossed 500 yuan in renminbi to Chief Ma as a first-meeting gift. Immediately he started the work with a fanfare. Lightly outfitted, the contracting team had nothing in the way of equipment and used everything "for free." Even the noodle carton was used as a plaster trough and the grain management office's iron shovels were borrowed "for free." There was no written estimate of material and labor. Dai Baoshan casually requested payment and Ma xx casually approved. Dai obtained more than 47,000 yuan for a project which could have been done for 20,000 yuan. Aligning the tiles on the roofs of the 8 grain stores should cost less than 100 yuan, but Dai Baoshan had the nerve to ask for 850 yuan!

In that case, are there no able men in Shuangyashan? How come the "free gifts" are always in charge?

How could there be no able men? Li Shihong [2621 0013 1347], who was concerned over the situation, is an able man. Seeing with his eyes, figuring it in his mind and watching the wealth of the state flowing through Ma's hands into Dai's

pocket, he was very worried, but he was helpless, because Ma xx was the first in command of the grain management office while he himself, a lowly section chief, had to follow orders.

Had Li Shihong been able to summarize the lessons of life, he would have ignored the outflow of silver which distressed him. The lessons were indeed tragic enough. One may say that, short of violent death, he had tasted all the miseries and agonies in the world.

He was among the first comrades I interviewed after my arrival at Shuangyashan. His eyes were youthful, but from his expression and speech, one could see that he was trying to suppress some physical pain. With his thin shoulders and pallid complexion, he seemed to have aged before his time. I found out the cause after a while: All these were traces of the calamity that had befallen him and the inhuman ravage of his body.

At the start of the "Cultural Revolution," Li Shihong belonged to the "downstairs faction" which included the personnel of the various business sections. The "upstairs faction" consisted of the political work personnel, with most of the bureau and section chiefs on their side and organization section chief Yin Haijiang [6892 3189 3068] as the backstage manipulator. In addition to his proficiency in planning and statistics, Li Shihong was articulate and eloquent, not to be gainsaid by the opposition. He was also expert in calligraphy and painting, and one of his cartoons enraged the opposition. Thereupon he was seized and imprisoned in the Fulitun granary and beaten all night long. Wounds covered his body like the scales of a fish, yet he was not permitted medical attention. When a scab barely formed over a wound, an evildoer by the name of Xue Cai [5641 2088] took pleasure in peeling it off. Consequently, his muscles and shifting tendons stuck together and severed his nerves, resulting in an incurable pain. With his legs atrophied, he has difficulty walking and has to crawl when going upstairs and boarding the bus. He suffers from back pain all day long. Due to the destruction of his nerves and blood vessels, he has lost normal feelings. Though the heated brick bed is too hot to touch, he finds it ice-cold when sitting on it. The pain of his sciatic nerves penetrates his pubic bones and he has lost all sexual functions. What crime did he commit? Rather than evil deeds, he rendered meritorious services. He was among those who ensured the prompt supply of grain rations to the townspeople during the chaotic years. The fact that the production of the coal mines was not suspended in those years was inseparable from the normal supply of grain. His only shortcoming was his stubbornness, refusing to bend to pressure. Bruised and lacerated, he still shouted: "Chairman Mao, I follow you to promote the revolution!" He refused to tell lies or betray his comrades.

Li Shihong's body can indeed be considered a sample of the lucky survivors of the disastrous "Cultural Revolution" and a living accusation of the calamity and its creators. Clearly aware of this point after the downfall of the "gang of four," Yin Haijiang, sitting in the bureau party committee secretary's office, was determined to "keep this fellow down!" There would be no rehabilitation or apology, nor to let him regard it as "public harm!"

Yin Haijiang was a sample of another type of people. The polarization of the two types of people started more than 2 decades ago. In age, Tong Youxiang [0157 2589 4382] was only a few years Li Shihong's senior, but in political experience, he was more advanced, because he suffered the first onslaught in 1957.

At that time, Tong Youxiang was the chairman of the grain bureau office. Just joining the party, he was pleased with himself. During the anti-rightist struggle, laboratory technician Zhang Xichun [1728 0823 2504], newly out of school, was denounced as a counterrevolutionary, because he made a mistake in grading a batch of rice. Not realizing that speaking impartially and frankly could be a crime, Tong Youxiang defended Zhang Xichun: "I think it is too severe. He is young and inexperienced and not yet skillful enough. Actually, according to the requirements of the lab technician's manual, he did not make any major mistake, only the distinction between long-grained rice and late long-grained rice. I don't think it can be called deliberate sabotage." These few words cost him his probationary party membership. Refusing to give in, he defended himself at the branch and administrative meetings, but what was the use?

It could be called a mockery of history. The rightist label was added to Zhang Xichun's counterrevolutionary label because of his "anti-party comments." Feeling no respect for the incompetent, he gave nicknames to some cadres: "big potato," "big black blind man" (black bear) and "free gift." From that time he was put in jail, the "free gift" grew in stature day by day.

Failing to recognize the situation, Tong Youxiang followed the narrow path, working harder after being punished and devoting a greater effort on vocational and technical matters. The more "free gift" elbowed him, the harder he worked. During 1959 and 1960, he invented an unmanned automatic grain selling machine which won a high appraisal at the national exhibition. Though he was far from being a rightist and a counterrevolutionary ("middle right; controlled use" was written in his files), he had lost the status to receive commendations and awards. Thus, an assistant chief of the grain bureau had to serve as "proxy" to the title of "technical expert." Tong Youxiang did not mind; instead, he was pleased. He paid no attention when others were promoted but not him and, refusing to give up evil and return to "politics," concentrated on his profession. His failing fortune in the next 2 decades was solely due to his refusal to come to his senses. Another path was laid out clearly, and why didn't he take it?

The two bright stars of the grain bureau gradually ascended in that memorable summer of 1957. A porter just a few years ago, Yin Haijiang became the chairman of the anti-rightist leading group office and Duan Lianxi [3008 6647 0823], who later became his close comrade-in-arms, served as his assistant. It was during the evenings when Duan Lianxi, humming a tune, wrote definitive materials on the "rightists" one by one that political science and human science developed in practice, and Yin Haijiang became an authority in this school of thought.

He looked at both your left and your right simultaneously. You might think that he was not looking at you, but actually his eyes were glued on you all the time. Even when you were not there, he was trying to figure you out. The

grain bureau chief and the party committee secretary were replaced several times in the 10-plus years, but only Yin Haijiang remained firmly entrenched and rose steadily. It was because he was a thinking man, saying little, walking with his eyes on the ground, forever pondering, studying and summarizing man and the relations among men and forming innumerable schemes.

Yin Haijiang was rather "talented." He never step forward to attack anyone. You were obviously attacked, yet you felt grateful to him. On the surface he appeared to be a simple, kindly and refined veteran cadre. With his gradual mastery of political and human sciences, he was able to make the grain bureau chiefs leave their posts one after another and turn the section chiefs into his allies or have them replaced; to make the party members say entirely different things at meetings and in private; to avoid implication by the party consolidation experimental unit for months and keep the system operated by him for many years from discovery.

As for Tong Youxiang, after 1957, he consistently failed to attain political maturity. He ignored the direction of the wind and the way to handle the rudder. Besides being a "useless expert," he often sang a counter tune when songs of joy were heard everywhere, bringing up this defect and that problem in grain work and failing to detect the displeasure in the expression of the leaders and understand the terrible fate awaiting anyone refusing to serve as a "tame tool."

The second tide arrived in 1966.

By then, Yin Haijiang had become the grain bureau's organization section chief in charge of personnel and Duan Lianxi served as a cadre of the security section. In the 9 years, they had accumulated much experience in political struggle. Today, the historical opportunity to demonstrate their skills had arrived.

Right at the start of the "Cultural Revolution," the comparison of strengths between the group represented by Yin Haijiang and that represented by Tong Youxiang and Li Shihong was obvious. The "upstairs faction" had already studied thoroughly the steps for a power seizure, while Tong Youxiang and Li Shihong were still pondering just what kind of people were capitalist roaders and whether there should be a power seizure in the grain bureau. The "upstairs faction" had organized the cadres and granary workers into a strong fighting contingent, prepared the prison cells and instruments of torture and trained a group of hatchet men, while the "downstairs faction" concentrated on the blending, processing, transport and supply of grain, wrote a few large-letter posters in their spare time, prepared drafts of their statements for the debates....

When I sat across from Tong Youxiang 17 years later and listened to his life story, all sorts of feelings welled up in my mind! Stalwart and tall, noble and dignified, he still retained a bit of innocence though already over 40 years of age. When he said that "Li Shihong is honest, proficient and assiduous and can do the work of 10," I thought that you, Tong Youxiang, could also do the work of 10! Yet you could not withstand Yin Haijian and Duan Lianxi. Why was it so?

The competition between those like Yin Haijiang and people like Tong Youxiang was unequal right from the start. Even if the fact that one side had power and the other did not was left aside, it was still an unequal fight, because the opposition completely ignored the rules. They used hands in soccer and feet in basketball. When you fought a duel with him, his assistants sniped from the side. How could you win?

#### The Sinister "System"

Every city should have someone to write its history. The future historian of Shuangyashan will have the meaningful work of recording and studying the merits and demerits and the rise and fall of its representative figures.

How did vice mayor Ge Ye [5514 2814], who was interested in the people, courageous in speaking and doing and thereby highly popular, die? And how did Wang Jie [3769 2638] die? As for those who survived, why are they given empty titles with no real work? Why is old cadre Wu Xingtian [2976 5281 3944], the first party branch secretary of the city, who managed for many years the propaganda work of the municipal party committee, possesses both ability and political integrity and is not aged or infirm, left idle? Why was former vice mayor Zhu Chuanbin [2612 0276 2430], who can be considered the only leading cadre of the city who understands industry, forced to return to his hometown in Shandong? People think of him with affection.

What kind of people are their replacements? The deepest impression people have of the first secretary is the badges covering his entire body during the "three-loyal" high tide, from neck to feet, in front and back, nonferrous metals weighing several kilograms. As for the secretary by the name of Liu, he is much commented on, because his rise has been too fast and he has made no achievement worth mentioning.

The older people are not categorically rejected; it depends on your manifestations, whether you are of one mind with them and whether you will be in the way. Zhong xx, for instance, who was in charge of public security work before the "Cultural Revolution" and who later on took the lead to "smash the public security organs, procuratorates and people's courts," is trustworthy, but Wen Gengxin [2429 2577 2450], an old public security man and an expert investigator, does not qualify. To start with, he suffered most during the "Cultural Revolution" and his sentiments are different. Therefore, when he asked for the job of an advisor to the public security bureau, he was turned down, and when he asked to help "solve the cases," he was again rejected. The problem is that he is too enthusiastic about the work and too capable and conscientious. Thus, he does not belong in the family.

Everybody says that the Shuangyashan people discriminate against outsiders, but it is not necessarily so. Didn't the well-known rebel Feng Tian [7458 1131] flee from Yichun city to seek refuge here? The moment he got here, he became a vice mayor, and even his status as a "standing committee member of the municipal party committee" was forwarded along with his letter of introduction. The only achievement left in the memory of the townspeople by this

vice mayor in charge of finance and trade was the bathhouse project. Discovering the townspeople's difficulty in getting a bath, he decided to replace the original one-floor bathhouse with a two-story one. It was of course an excellent idea. With the investment of 400,000 yuan, construction was launched. After completing the first level, the work could not proceed, because the building materials had been used for private housing construction. Thus, the Shuangyashan people still had to take their baths in a one-story bathhouse, except the cost per square meter of the new building was more than 10 times greater than that of the old building.

In the netherworld, a giant hand controls man's fate. Any obstacle or threat to the security and development of the "system" was pushed aside, pressed down or even strangled.

Mu Runze [1970 3387 3419] was a district party committee secretary at the time of the founding of the nation. After 35 years, he doesn't even have a regular job today. He made mistakes in two aspects: First, he was proficient in his field and refused to change his correct views, thereby posing a threat to the incompetent bureau chief. Next, he did not know how to give dinners, give gifts, flatter and tell lies; therefore, he failed to please his superiors. The four "negatives" entailed another four: no assignment of regular duties, no promotion, no raise in pay and no assignment of housing. It was inevitable, because if Mu Runze was permitted to get the upper hand and acquire the right to speak, you would have to admit that the loss of 650 tons of flour by the flour mill in 10 months and the scrapping of the Model-200 oil pressing plant which had cost several hundred thousand yuan to build were due to your refusal to accept his views. In short, you have to admit your incompetence and liability. How disastrous would that be!

What is interesting is that Feng Tian, who wasted several hundred thousand yuan of the state on one project, always occupies a superior position over Mu Runze who saved several million yuan for the state. Vice mayor Feng Tian, known as "standing committee member Feng," visited Mu Runze, saying: "Old Mu, you know, we are both outsiders, and we may not be popular. We must stick together. Do not worry. Just follow me and you will not regret it! Both the chief and the secretary of the service bureau are incompetent. I'll get you there, and you will be promoted to the bureau level." Utterly ignorant, Mu Runze refused. Thereupon "standing committee member Feng" notified the grain and personnel bureaus: "Do not assign him work; do not raise his pay!" When Mu Runze was transferred to the foreign trade bureau, Feng Tian's instructions were likewise transferred there, with an additional injunction: "Do not assign him living quarters!"

How great is the impact of an individual on history! Is it not said that we must act "under the party's leadership?" As in our language, the terms "leadership" and "leader" are interchangeable in life.

When the uncle is a bureau chief, he can lend a helping hand to the nephew and promote him from an insignificant section member of the tax office to assistant chief of the commerce bureau. When the nephew becomes a secretary of the

municipal party committee, he can in turn help the uncle. Giving and taking, I make your son a branch secretary and you make my daughter a section chief.

The people's complaints, made in anger, may be exaggerated and should not be taken literally, but their words often reveal the substance of the problems. "If the dogs of the municipal party and government leaders could talk, they would be section chiefs!" It is not so easy for the ordinary people. "If you do not work according to the desires of the masters, you will not be rewarded even if you exert yourself to death." You must be good at watching the expressions, skillful in flattering and able to speak against your conscience, and you must make discoveries (sensing the needs of the leaders) and creations (material things for the leaders' homes and pleasures for their minds). Once you are up there, you will, in turn, enjoy the material and spiritual wealths now offered to others by you.

Blood ties played a significant role in the formation of the system. Did we not produce many progenies in the fifties? By the seventies, they got married one after another. Among the cadres of the middle level and above in the city, as many as 200-plus people are related by marriage. With their common political goals and common interests, plus the families joined together by the common grandchildren, what powerful political laser can break apart such an alliance?!

Our forebear of long, long ago summarized the situation: "When a thing is not given its right name, it is the inception of chaos. When virtue fails to match the position, ability the office, reward the merit and punishment the crime, the inauspiciousness is great." ("Criminal Law," "Book of Han").

The formative period of this system was during the time when "leftwing" theoreticians vigorously criticized such "capitalist" and "revisionist" merchandise as "material incentive," "profit in command" and "the theory of the unique importance of productive forces," to the extent of making the "proletarian dictatorship" the function of the plants. Thus, the theoreticians' contributions to the city's industrial depression should not be completely obliterated. But the theoreticians cannot thereupon take their leaves; they must make one more demonstration: Since it is neither capitalism, nor revisionsim and even less socialism, it must have a name. What doctrine is it? Not "incentive," nor "in command" and only "dictatorship" and no production. In that case, where does the income of these people other than wages come from? Isn't this a practical, not abstract, theoretical issue calling for exploration?

Shuangyashan was once a place cherished by people braving the Northeast. "The moment one gets out of Shanhaiguan, there is Shuangyashan." Prior to 1958, the city stressed economic results to a certain extent, and for a time discipline on the cadres was fairly strict. In those days, if anyone in the grain department wasted a few jin of grain, he had to make a thorough self-criticism; if the loss came to 100 jin, he was punished. Later on, politics battered economics and gradually gained ascendance over it. The so-called "big tossing around" and "big rumbling" were no more than glib political slogan. Large in size and collective in nature, thorough, great satisfaction! Except one thing was forgotten: Poverty can become the soil for evil, most detrimental to

political and spiritual sublimity and purity. When denouncing and eliminating bourgeois individualism of all types in those days, a most harmful individualism was overlooked--political individualism. It was not individual struggle for knowledge and creativity; therefore, it did not belong in the category of "useless experts." It was "free greed." "Free" meant no hard work nor risk. One only had to watch the wind direction to steer, make a big fanfare, misrepresent and deceive, attack others and form cliques. "Greed" meant "grabbing one, power, two, people and three, money and things." This group of people depleted the state, advanced themselves and turned around to seek private gain amidst poverty.

Why are wheat bran and distillers' grains in such great demand in Shuangyashan? It is for no other reason than their shortage because, with their meager income, people must raise hogs and chicken in the city to make both ends meet. Why are those holding residence registrations and grain coupons so cocky? Is it not because the economic devastation has widened the gap between the city and the village and everyone wants to come to the city? Had the economy not been disrupted by the blind tossing around, it would not have been necessary to beg for jobs and higher education.

Meanwhile, focusing on "political accounts" and ignoring economic results have undermined the state's legal and economic systems, thereby providing much freedom to those using their office for private gain. In these years, the term "dereliction of duty" has almost disappeared from our language. Power, once disjointed from responsibility, automatically runs wild and, regardless of the close pursuit by party discipline and state law, it is difficult to subdue the reinless horse.

Immensely proud of himself and radiant with happiness, Yuan Fu [5913 4395], the current chief of the saturating plant, took us to view the modern equipment, as if it were his invention. He considered himself a person who had rendered outstanding services, because the plant was built under his stewardship. To be polite, I refrained from asking him: Did it not cost more than 2 million yuan to build this plant? After 6 months in production, why is the final accounting not rendered? What happened to the 400,000 yuan of building material?

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee summarized the lessons of history, shifted the focus of work to economics, rectified the "leftwing" mistakes and took all measures to make the people well-to-do. By so doing, it will basically eliminate the soil depended on by the dark forces for survival. Those who obeyed and closely followed the "higher-ups" during the "Cultural Revolution" and vigorously and promptly carried out orders "without leaving them overnight" have suddenly become dispirited. The energetic heros who had "a firm stand and clear banner" in the various movements through the years, shouted themselves hoarse and disregarded the consequences, have suddenly grown half-hearted, soft and slack.

It has been 5 years since the Third Plenary Session, yet not one of the several secretaries of the municipal party committee is put in charge of economics. When asked for instructions of problems, the answer was: "I am in charge of politics and I do not know anything else." More than 70 people here were killed

during the "Cultural Revolution," yet no murderer has been caught. It should be within the province of the secretary "in charge of politics," but, when asked, the answer was: "I am not sure whether there are any 'three categories of undesirables' in Shuangyashan.

### The "Left" Suddenly Turns Right

This secretary is in charge of politics, law and discipline inspection. We carefully read secretary Zhao's spring 1983 report on sorting the "three categories of undesirables." According to the report, Shuangyashan should be the national model, because, after the collapse of the "gang of four," the municipal party committee immediately launched the work of sorting without interruption, establishing numerous offices and work groups!... It was quite beautifully written, close-knit and flawless. It can still be used in the year 1990. We asked secretary Zhao: We heard that the person in the municipal party committee who is in charge of sorting was the leader of a mass dictatorship team at the railway station and the achievements of the team were pretty good, beating and paralyzing quite a few people. Are you aware of it? Secretary Zhao showed surprise and said that he was not aware of it. We reminded him that Yang Yuqiao [2799 3768 0829], chairman of surgery of your city hospital and recently promoted as chief of the municipal health bureau, was the one who deliberately gave an overdose of anesthetic to a patient on the operating table and killed model worker Zhao Jie [6392 2638] of the grain bureau. Should this man not be considered as among the "three categories of undesirables?" After a momentary hesitation, secretary Zhao replied: That man does have some faults, but people's understandings of his problems have always varied.... We then named many witnesses to Yang Yuqiao's premediated murder of Zhao Jie, and he made no denial.

Xia Zhongyi [1115 6850 5030], assistant chief of the grain bureau's discipline inspection section, is an "old basic." When handling the work of "exposing, criticizing and investigating" in 1978 and later on when reorganizing the groups and assessing the cadres, he always acted according to the old rules, as conscientious as when promoting the movements in the past. After more than 6 months of investigation and verification and on the basis of large amounts of information, the conclusion was that Wu xx, who led the worker propaganda team to take over the Fuli granary in 1967, "ruthlessly repressed the masses, persecuted the cadres and technicians, set up a private court and tortured 30 to 40 people to force confessions, resulting in the death of 2 and the injury and crippling of 4." However, the municipal party committee was then in the course of putting Wu xx in charge of the city's "exposure, criticism and investigation" movement! Xia Zhongyi appeared many times at the committee to protest, but Zhang xx, the person in charge, arbitrarily turned him down. When requested to investigate Wu xx's problems, Zhang xx said: "This man has heart disease and may drop dead if not handled right. Better find someone healthy to start the investigations!" When Xia Zhongyi persisted in his request, he said: "Will you bring us the material first?" Xia Zhongyi refused and insisted on talking with Wu xx. Zhang xx said: "Talk with him then, but take it easy. Do not force him and do not exert pressure." The meeting was to be held the next day, but when Xia Zhongyi got there, he found that Wu xx, by coincidence, was hospitalized? It seemed that he was suddenly taken sick, perspiring

continuously. He remained in hospital for more than 10 days before he was discharged. Like enemies meeting on a narrow path, he actually ran into Xia Zhongyi on the street. Filled with anxiety and apprehension upon seeing Xia Zhongyi, he started to perspire again and had to return to hospital. Xia Zhongyi asked a responsible person of the city office of exposure, criticism and investigation to go with him to talk with Wu xx together, going over the questions one by one. Wu xx admitted all the minor charges, but when it came to the vital problems, namely, how did Chairman Zhao Fa [6392 4099] of the granary's revolutionary committee, who was a good Jiao Yulu [3542 5940 4389]-type cadre, die? How was he burned with fire? Knowing that he suffered from serious stomach ailment and duodenal ulcer, how did you torment him through his diet?, he began to prevaricate and refused to tell the truth. Later on Yin Haijiang appeared to vouch for him, saying: "Let us wind up the Zhao Fa case as soon as possible. His family has financial difficulties. Rehabilitate him and give the family some money and let it go at that. Things of the past sometimes cannot be recalled clearly, let alone the fact that the matter involves the city, making it difficult for me to handle...." Soon afterward, Wu xx was promoted as chief of the city's urban construction bureau and assumed office.

No wonder the "three categories" had the nerve to announce openly to those who had survived the beatings: "What? I did struggle against you and beat you, but not hard enough. If you are not dead by the next Great Cultural Revolution, I will struggle against you again!"

Most political movements in the past were "Leftist," but the sorting of the "three categories" this time suddenly turned right, and in an odd way. The central government gave repeated instructions. In the past, the party committees and political cadres of the various levels would have closely followed them. Take Yin Haijiang for instance: As the office chairman of the grain bureau's anti-rightist leading group in the summer of 1957, how energetic and impressive he was! For under-grading the wheat due to inexperience, you convicted young lab technician Zhang Xichun of "counterrevolutionary sabotage." When office chairman Tong Youxiang said a few impartial words on his behalf, you cancelled his probationary party membership and reduced his pay by two grades. You and your close assistant Duan Lianxi relied on such means to build yourselves up. How come you have all changed today? If the type of people like Wu xx and Xue Cai (made chief of the criminal police unit for his service in beating and harassing people) actually commits the crime of "counterrevolutionary sabotage" today, you will most likely conclude that it is "undergrading the wheat due to inexperience." In short, how "left" you people were in those years, yet how oddly rightwing today! However, it must be made clear that this kind of rightism is limited to your own people. When it comes to others, such as intellectuals with real talent and learning, you assume your former attitude.

One main function of the "system" is to promote "one's own" and protect them in case of trouble. When an investigation becomes inevitable, the investigator can convert a major matter into a minor one and make the problems disappear. While the investigation is underway, retroactive payment of wages, "fulfillment of policy" and even promotion are already going on.

Qiao Wenhai [0829 2429 3189] is merely one among many. While serving with the criminal police unit, he lost a bag containing 2,000 yuan of public money. It was never verified, nor investigated. Less than 3 years after he became the chief of the grain bureau's reception office, the losses came to more than 13,000 yuan and corruption was suspected. When secretary Gao Yunwu [7559 0061 0710] of the discipline inspection commission investigated, Yin Haijiang approached him and said: "Qiao Wenhai's problems all belong in the past. Do not bring them up again. Let him go! Yu Quansheng [0060 3123 3932] (commerce bureau chief and uncle of secretary Liu of the municipal party committee) is his uncle." Gao Yunwu refused and said that he had to be transferred out. The secretary said: "There is a unit which now wants him. Can we let it go at that? After his transfer, the circumstances can be made known to the other side." Gao Yunwu acceded. Had he refused, what would have happened? The "black song" case was an example. After a corruption case involving more than 20,000 jin of grain coupons was investigated and prosecuted, the investigator was criticized at the party consolidation meeting for "ultra-leftism" and for "forcing a confession."

It was an abnormality. All along those handling cases were prestigious. How cocky were those during the "Cultural Revolution" who, in charge of transferring out, strutted around with their briefcases! Most of them were trusted and promotable. How odd it is now! Today the focus is on seeking the truth from facts. Those under investigation are all basically people who have problems, yet the people handling the investigations find themselves in an inferior position. Even the central government sent a work group for the major corruption case of the city's materials bureau. Nevertheless, Jiang Baifeng [1203 4102 1496], who was most determined in combating the evildoers and made outstanding achievements, was beaten up. The one who beat him up was none other than vice chairman Yang Zuojin [2799 0155 6855] of the city's planning commission in charge of the materials bureau. The scene of the beating was peculiar. while slapping him on the face seven successive times, the vice chairman declared simultaneously: "You are the one I want to beat up! I have only come here to beat you up! You can go and accuse me! You're the one I want to beat up! Let's see what you can do with me!"

The materials bureau's party committee secretary Yu Wanyou [0060 8001 2589], who was in charge of the case, escaped such beating. His punishment was of another kind, which could be called a political slap. The day it entered the materials bureau, the work group transferred him, who was most determined in fighting corruption and possessed the most information, as well as the corrupt bureau chief Yu Xitang [0060 0823 1016] to the party school to study.

Subsequently, Yu Xitang was convicted, but actually he never went to the labor reform site. Serving as a dining hall managing officer in the detention station, he was able to visit the city almost daily and enjoy the freedom of movement, even calling on his mistress at her home.

What about Yu Wanyou? After his house was burglarized several times, his wife and children, for their personal safety, had to move back to Hunan. As for he himself, he was not permitted to return to the materials bureau, allegedly out of consideration for his safety, because Yu Xitang's influence was too powerful

there. Nor was he able to return to Hunan. He had a worse outcome than Yu Xitang, for the latter, regardless of what, at least he had a job.

### Difficult Struggle

The "system," fostered for more than a decade, could be considered secure, yet they did not feel relaxed. Always jealous of their hard-won power, they kept a close watch on the old cadres many times their superior in political integrity and ability. Though the old cadres held only nominal posts, they still felt ill at ease. When the enlarged meeting of the municipal party committee's standing committee discussed the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress, they were afraid to schedule statements at the meeting. When electing standing committee members of the municipal people's congress, they did not announce the names of the candidates until just before voting and, like facing a formidable enemy, they issued a solemn warning against making contacts before voting!

They made a big mistake by failing to realize that, when our party had formed a correct line, the veteran cadres were not their only menace, and they underestimated the power of the common people. In the end, it was actually two nonentities who exposed the "system."

Yang Yuchen [2799 3768 6591] of the grain department was denounced as a rightist in his teens. He failed to remold himself and, when all the grain supply records of Lingdong district grain management office were destroyed in 1962, he again stepped forward to make trouble. While the grain bureau chief was unconcerned, he took an earnest attitude, claiming that the records were "the core of all legal proofs" and that their destruction would cause chaos. He was actually proved right. There emerged the situation where the members of a family took turns to stand in line to buy grain. Thus, there was no alternative but to sell only 1 or 2 jin at a time, and the line grew to several li long. Consequently, there was a grain shortage of more than 900,000 jin. Yang Yuchen advocated investigation and opposed writing false reports. He got into the way and offended many people, mostly in higher positions than him. Thus started his misery of 2 decades.

First it was said that, being a rightist, he should not be assigned the important work of planned allocation of grain. Better have him transferred. Suddenly it was changed. His cadre status was annulled and he was sent to the farm to labor. He failed to see the light and they, instead of waiting for him to repent, changed again and suspended his pay. Then they became even more straightforward: Given tens of yuan, he was dismissed. The decision was announced by Duan Lianxi whom we had met before. Yang Yuchen questioned him: "What crime did I commit? Even if I made mistakes, should I not be given the chance to make a living?" Duan Lianxi's answer was concise: "Look at your attitude--you better wait!"

Yang Yuchen pondered: When innocent people are punished, is there any distinction between right and wrong? The Communist Party liberated his whole family, and it surely would not treat him like this! Most likely the central government was unaware of the situation. Thereupon he appealed to the higher authorities level by level, all the way to the central government. The grain

bureau twice sent Duan Lianxi and others to pursue and arrest him, and what awaited him at home was a mass meeting of cadres of the section chief level and above of the grain system. The moment he stepped into the meeting place, what he heard was the loud and clear slogan of "Down with the Active Counter-revolutionary!" Do you think it happened during the "Great Cultural Revolution?" No, it was prior to that. It happened on 18 September 1964. Handcuffed and his arms bound with a grass rope, Yang Yuchen was sent to undergo "labor education." His sojourn lasted 2 years, and his family was not notified. The six members of his family had depended completely on him for their support.

For a period of 10 years, Yang Yuchen received not 1 penny in pay. It was during the time when only the class struggle was stressed and humanitarianism was banned. Perhaps the purpose was to subject Yang Yuchen's wife Zhang Fenglan [1728 7685 5695] to the same tempering alongside him! Yang Yuchen refused to admit his mistakes, and this extraordinary woman refused to persuade him to do so. She undertook the burden of supporting the family, encountered a tremendous political pressure, personal insults and the difficulties of a temporary worker and worried about her husband's safety. After returning home, Yang Yuchen still had no job. When he did work, his wages and grain rations were goundlessly withheld. On the street, anyone could beat and scold him. As a result of the long tribulation and torment, he became confused and could not find his way home at times. Thus, his wife had to accompany him at all times.

What is more intolerable than hunger and cold is humiliation. Luckily, in the years when the shout of "Take Class Struggle as the Key Link" was the loudest and its enforcement most thorough, China's common people and many cadres did not lose their sympathy for the unfortunate innocent. It was such sympathy and aid which helped Yang Yuchen withstand the attacks and retaliations, comforted and encouraged his family and enabled them to get by. When Yang Yuchen went to make his appeal in Beijing, the head of the train crew allowed him to ride without a ticket and even gave him food. When he was hungry, there were people who fed him. When he had no money for his lodgings, the provincial grain bureau and the newspaper reception office allowed him to stay for free indefinitely. When his family ran out of food, their warmhearted neighbors brought them several jin of flour or a pot of corn flour. When the family had no cotton-padded shoes in deep winter, five pairs of different sizes were discovered lined up in front of the door at dawn. Their neighbor Wei Dianbin [7614 3013 2430] and his family treated them like their own, showing a concern and rendering aid. All these not only eased the survival crisis of the family, but also added warmth to the house which, in the long and severe winter, had frost on its walls. They were well aware that people ran a political risk everytime they brought a bit of grain or fuel or smiled and uttered words of sympathy.

Nevertheless, until the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, what Yang Yuchen gained in his 10 plus years of appeals was thus limited. His actual political status always remained "rightist" plus "counterrevolutionary." Still no one was concerned about the ever more serious corruption of the grain

bureau. Attack and retaliation, the talisman of the "system," had not lost their lethal power in the slightest.

If what happened only concerned Yang Yuchen personally or his family, writing about it would not be worthwhile. Attack and retaliation were a phenomenon in our political life for decades. Yang Yuchen did not encounter their full blast. If classified according to the degree of severity, the punishments could be roughly listed as follows: transfer or reduction in grade in the sense of a demotion; suspension of job or deprivation of the right to work; political frame-up; suspension of pay; physical ravage. Alongside them are discrimination and harassment in job transfers and promotion, residence registration and employment of family members, housing assignment, etc.

One should say that it was during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the darkest years since China's liberation, that some historical changes favorable to Yang Yuchen imperceptibly emerge. One important thing that happened was that a large group of veteran cadres in Shuangyashan was made the objectives of the fascist persecution.

The sense of Yang Yuchen sitting alongside Liu Jian [0491 1017], former public security bureau chief, vice mayor and chief of the municipal party committee's united front department, and weeping bitterly together was of a historical significance. As a "rightist," Yang Yuchen was a target of the united front department prior to the "Cultural Revolution." Yang Yuchen went to see Liu Jian when he began his appeal and Liu Jian sent him to the grain bureau. When the grain bureau held a mass meeting in September 1964 to criticize Yang Yuchen's appeals and stripped him of his freedom on site, Liu Jian was present and supported the action.

Not till after the start of the "Cultural Revolution" did Liu Jian recognize the nature of the "leftwing" mistakes of which he had had a part. After the collapse of the "gang of four," though still nominally a member of the municipal party committee, he was actually excluded and cold-shouldered and finally even his minimum rights were infringed. His dwelling was forcefully taken, his sewage line blocked and his power line cut. The municipal party committee was indifferent. This veteran cadre of the anti-Japanese war years often felt distressed over his own miserable circumstances and the corruption of the party style in the city. By this time, he saw Yang Yuchen in a new light and expressed his regrets to the latter. When Yang Yuchen went to Beijing to make his appeals, he donated 50 yuan for his expenses.

Engineer Pang Bingquan, persecuted during the "Cultural Revolution," is a clear-headed and upright intellectual. He also viewed Yang Yuchen's struggles of many years in a different light than in the past. He wanted to help Yang Yuchen and actually did so, thereby doubling the latter's fighting power. Through his introduction, Yang Yuchen acquired a faithful comrade-in-arms--bookkeeper Liu Jinhai [0491 6855 3189] of the Fuli granary.

#### A Most Likable Fellow

Yang Yuchen made a famous remark: "They are too extreme; they can force a mute to talk!"

Liu Jinhai was one of those forced by them. Look at his expression--always a slightly fatuous smile on his dark face and exposing his tobacco-stained teeth when laughing. One can see that he is an honest, kindly and "easygoing" man, basically not someone who squabbles and complains. A bookkeeper in his home village, he remained in the same occupation after "drifting" to the Northeast. His work, like his boookkeeping, was reliable and meticulous. Another characteristic of his personality was "obstinacy," refusing to turn around even after hitting the wall. It became difficult when an honest man was "obstinate."

Studying by lamplight night after night, he was an expert in his field. Perhaps because of his liking for bookkeeping and his conscientiousness, he regarded accuracy as something sacred and inviolable, thereby getting himself engulfed in a whirlpool of contradictions.

The dining hall of the oil and rice plant raised hogs with free feed. The piglets grew to 300 or 400 jin per pig in no time, yet was it not odd to lose money on every hog? The dining hall had at most 10-plus people taking their meals there, yet it lost tens of thousands of yuan. Was it not a challenge to the work of bookkeeping? When investigated, immediately the involvement of plant chief Yuan Fu was discovered. It was as if the hog farm were operated for the benefit of his family, and he would causally take away a hog weighing more than 100 jin and return it for exchange when anything went wrong. The subordinates followed the examples of the superiors. With his family of seven, Cai was penniless when he first came, but now he would not sit down to a meal without fine wine and four courses. Fearless of trouble in his work, Liu Jinhai discovered that the Fuli granary was like a large funnel, leaking away the wealth of the state....

What first came to his mind was his own responsibility. He remembered clearly a question on the responsibilities of bookkeeping work in the examinations: By failing to struggle against conduct in violation of the financial and economic systems, the bookkeeper is just as culpable as the offender. Thereupon he went to see Yuan Fu and advised him politely: "Better pay for the hog, for otherwise it will not be good for you if discovered. As the bookkeeper, nor can I cover up for you." To his surprise, the plant chief stared blankly and said: "Do not worry, I'll be responsible for any trouble!" Liu Jinhai, the "big wooden peg," was aroused: "Your responsibility! If the plant chief takes the lead to do so, what is the use of business accounting?!"

His "obstinacy" affected his pay. He had the second highest score in the bookkeeping examinations for the entire grain bureau and was an advanced worker in most of the quarters. This time 40 percent of the personnel received pay raises and his name was included in the three lists discussed by the masses. Why was he turned down? Was it not high-handed? He appealed level by level, but no one paid him any attention. His "appeal" offended the leaders. Instead of repenting, he continued to venture ahead. The financial report at the worker delegates' meeting was originally the responsibility of the section chief, but, underestimating the enemy, Yuan Fu asked Liu Jinhai to make the report. Right off, Liu Jinhai revealed the affairs of the dining hall. Out of a loss of 14,000 yuan, the loss on hog raising was more than 7,000 yuan.... Yuan Fu and others immediately tried to stop him, saying that it was not

necessary to go into these things. However, the delegates became very interested and insisted on hearing the rest. It was a hornet's nest. Retaliation escalated and Liu Jinhai's ouster was ordered. However, times after all had changed. When Liu Jinhai refused to leave, they could do nothing. There was no suspension of his job, no withholding of his pay, nor "labor education."

Much more fortunate than Yang Yuchen, Liu Jinhai was never isolated. The progress of China's history of the past two decades was that people, no longer following blindly, can determine the right and wrong on their own. There were many others in the Fuli granary like Liu Jinhai who cherished grain, felt concerned over the fate of the state and thereby abhorred the spendthrift cadre cadres. The guard at the gate told Liu Jinhai who, under whose instigation, secretly took away how much grain, soybean oil and lumber; a porter told him how he moved how much mildewed and rotted grain on a certain day; a workshop worker told him how five motors were burned successively in a certain week; the bookkeepers and cashiers of the various units showed him the criminal evidence of malpractice and corruption in the books. As many as several dozen people continuously fed him information and put fuel into his power boiler.

Of course, there were also many who poured water into the boiler. "Why do you go along with Yang Yuchen? He has gotten nowhere after trying 20 years!" Liu Jinhai smiled and said: "It is different today. In the first place, the party Central Committee urges us to struggle against the evildoers. In the second place, the evildoers are much worse now than 20 years ago. If we do not struggle, the state will be finished!" "Do not get mixed up with Yang Yuchen. The materials he has are all weak." Liu Jinhai again said happily: "Does not matter. I have solid data here. With the two of us together, it is a combination of the weak and the solid!"

Liu Jinhai always smiled with his lips closed and those who don't know him thought he lived the easy life of a small family. Labor model Zhu Xx, his neighbor in the front court, had more vegetables and beans than he could eat and dried the surplus for the winter. As for the Liu family, they could not afford even one meal of beans in an entire year and relied on a crock of sauce with their rice. If not for the relatives of his wife's family, probably no greens would appear on the dinner table throughout the year. Yet Liu Jinhai and his wife Bai Yuzhi [4101 3768 5347] were not envious of the labor model, because they knew that the won recognition and lived an easy life by ignoring his conscience and concealing for the leaders the serious problems of the granary. Whenever it rained, Liu Jinhai had to watch the water level from the edge of his brick bed and bail the water out with a basin from time to time, for otherwise it would rise to the bed. This was also a pleasure not enjoyed by the labor model.

In his diary, Liu Jinhai referred to Bai Yuzhi as his "beloved wife." She was indeed a lovable and virtuous wife. Not only never complaining about Liu Jinhai's refusal to go along with the evildoers and to bargain with his conscience, but she often encouraged him. "Better be bullied and suffer disadvantages than to lick their boots. It is not that we have not lived an even more difficult life than this. When we recall the people in the old society, did they not have to beg to live and to flee the famine? If the party Central

Committee heeds our words, it is worthwhile to suffer even more misery. If it does not, and permits the scoundrels to remain in charge, it will be our fate and it will serve us right to be out of luck. It is not big deal!" Besides being a good wife, she was also a member of the rural CYL and served as its women's chairman. She had more ideas than her husband and often gave him advice: "As for you, when a dog wears a hat, you would think it is a good man! You must look behind a person and see what he says about others behind their backs. He's bound to say good things in the open!" Nodding his head in approval, Liu Jinhai was filled with admiration, saying: "You are indeed my good adviser!" Thereupon, the beloved wife would often say: "H'm! Who allotted me such a good husband?! The whole family has benefited from associating with you!" Afraid of hurting his feelings, she would immediately make amends: "How can one blame you? As long as we have not done anything against our conscience, we can face the people of China!"

Bai Yuzhi also felt a pent-up anger. In hiring the granary and its subordinate units must give priority to the workers' family members. Bai Yuzhi worked in the winery for a time. Capable, skillful, alert and scrupulous, she had a higher production rate than others. Also because of being alert and scrupulous, she discovered that the chief of the winery took the lead to steal wine by inserting a plastic tube into the large keg to draw wine into a plastic bucket. Before she exposed him, her job was suspended for no reason. Obviously it was for the purpose of attacking Liu Jinhai--rather hiring temporary workers from rural areas than to let your family receive an additional income! A woman with a backbone, Bai Yuzhi never complained. In addition, she kept the children neat and tidy, showing no shabbiness. She concealed all difficulties from her husband and never let him know that she had to borrow money and grain.

When Yang Yuchen visited their house for the first time, Bai Yuzhi specially went out to buy some sword fish. Seeing her shaking our the rice bag, Yang felt bad. While cooking, Bai Yuzhi said: "Brother Yang, it appears that honest people today are not favored, but have to undertake all disadvantageous things. When you act according to the policies, others regard you as a thorn in their flesh. How can this mess be called the Communist Party? If this continues to develop, is this country not finished?!" The last question was often asked between the couple. Looking at the two sleeping children, they often brought up the subject at night. The children appeared to be particularly lovable. A boy and a girl--their prospects looked good, both good-looking, healthy and doing well in school. Nevertheless, if the country was ruined by the spendthrifts, the children would have to suffer in the future!....

Liu Jinhai visited Yang Yuchen in the latter's home even more frequently. When the two of them saw each other, Yang Yuchen would become very excited. He would bring out the material written by him through the years, spread them out on the floor and select the useful ones. As for Liu Jinhai, he would leisurely produce his little notebook and read to Brother Yang item by item the new information collected by him in recent days. Afterward, they would consider how to write the 200th letter of appeal to Beijing. In regard to Zhang Fenglan, while making noodles in the outer room, she would listen carefully to their discussions. She was worried that Yang always became too excited. Instead of

the tea in front of him, he drank from his guest's cup. Yesterday, he kept on calling his son's name when he actually meant the daughter. His mind was apparently somewhat abnormal. Thinking of these, she recalled in her mind's eye how Yang was chased and beaten by children on the street, how his gown, which she had bought with the last bit of her money when he got out of jail, was torn, how he went to Beijing to make his appeal in winter in shoes exposing his toes.... The tragic scenes emerged one by one before her eyes. Holding her tears back, she wanted to free herself from the contradiction. She did not want Yang to see the information and hoped that he would stay with her for a few more years. (He did not have many days of easy life so far. After he was cleared of the "rightist" problem and the children had grown, life in the past 2 years was slightly more relaxed.) However, she also knew that Yang's lifeblood was the struggle waged by him in the past 2 decades to the exclusion of everything else. If he was stopped, he would become a vegetable and lose his soul. He would not live long then....

After completing their calculations or yet another letter of appeal, Liu Jinhai would go to catch the bus, waiting 1 or 2 hours at times before catching one. But no matter how late, he had to rush home, because he must go to work promptly the next morning. Giving no chance to his opponents to find fault with him was a pleasure. Liu Jinhai could shout before all the workers: "You want to punish me! Go ahead and investigate! See whether I have taken one bale of straw from the state!" He prided himself on being completely spotless, conveiting nothing and depending on no one. Let those people stand up and compare with him!

#### One Day When They Become Strong....

Liu Jinhai said: "The evildoers fear the good people." Why? The 24,000 yuan on the record of the oil and rice plant were a load on the minds of the granary leaders, and they often came to see him. Now they begged him to cancel the sum! Liu Jinhai said: "No, it has not been thoroughly clarified." Yuan Fu said: "After so many years, who can clarify it?!" "Why not? I can clarify it. Even the three big mountains were overthrown, let alone this little dirt pile! Go and tell bureau chief Zhang. Assign someone to me and I am sure I can clear up the whole thing, and I guarantee that I will not be afraid of offending anyone!" Yuan Fu came again a few days later: "It has to be cancelled; it cannot be kept in the books forever." He was somewhat angered. Liu Jinhai said: "What's the hurry? Let us take our time. The matter was brought up by me, and I am in no hurry. Why should you? Let us put it aside for the time being." Yuan Fu lit a cigarette for him and he accepted. This time it was begging: "Old Liu, help me out. Just cancel that little trifle and let it go!" "Why do you always come to see me? I have to listen to the bureau. If you ask the bureau chief to write a note with his signature on it and order me to cancel it, I will do so." What bureau chief would dare to sign such a note?.... Thus it went, back and forth. Liu Jinhai wielded the bit of power in his hands, and those people could do nothing!

Had China's nobodies had a little more power in their hands, things would have been much easier to handle. Perhaps what Yang Yuchen and Liu Jinhai did produced a little bit of this effect. However, for the moment they still had to

hear these words from the higher level: "What do you accomplish by appealing to higher authorities. Who's going to listen to you? Even if you go to Beijing 1,000 times, who can solve your problems for you? Wherever you appeal, it has to be handled by the grain bureau's party committee. Can you go to the United Nations?" How high-handed were these words! It was rather discouraging. Could you refuse to admit the truth of it all? After Yang Yuchen has worn out countless pairs of shoes in running around for two decades, his fate remains in the palm of the basic level party committee! How many appeals in the country are shuttled back and forth until they finally land in the hands of the accused? To be fair, Shuangyashan has made a big progress. At least Liu Jinhai is not arrested for "labor education." Do not think I am joking. Being arrested and jailed after traveling several hundred li to Beijing because of appealing to higher authorities remains a grim reality! When it comes to unconstitutional incidents, Shuangyashan has had a little more: Yang Yuchen's letter from Beijing to Liu Jinhai was surreptitiously opened. It was revealed by the offender, thereby showing that secretly opening other people's mail was not considered a serious matter. That day, manager Zong said to Liu Jinhai: "Old Liu, you and Old Yang have again written the RENMIN RIBAO to accuse me. If you succeed, what good will it do you? Will you become a bureau chief? Moreover, you cannot succeed." When asked how he knew, he said that he read Yang Yuchen's letter from Beijing asking Liu Jinhai for additional material. How did he get to read it? "I picked it up in the lavatory."

Sometimes, like two different species of animals, two different types of people cannot understand each other. Zong xx thought that Liu Jinhai wanted to become a bureau chief. There were people who remarked: "Make Yang Yuchen a section chief and he will calm down and lodge no more complaint." Still others said that these people were addicted to appealing to the higher authorities in Beijing. Savoring the sweet taste of making appeals, they have become cunning old hands.

Actually, they are forced to make appeals. Do they have an easy time when traveling to Beijing to make appeals? The moment people hear that "this man has come to Beijing to appeal," they want to drop through a hole in the ground, as if the person were a rat infected with plague. The appearance of those coming to Beijing to make appeals is indeed not very elegant. They are often unkempt, dirty and dejected. The air is indeed fresh when sleeping in the square in front of the station, but one is either too cold or too hungry, and there is always the risk of being "taken in" at any moment.

Comrade Zong, if you people would exercise some restraint, such as, surreptitiously building a few houses for your own use and refrain from trading 80,000 jin of distillers' grains for land, building houses with government bricks and low-cost lumber and selling them at a high price to the state ("my father built this house", if you would exercise discretion in doing your evil deeds and not irritate people so much, and if you would gradually reduce, instead of enlarge, your plunder and waste of state assets, there would be less people like Yang Yuchen and Li Jinhai and less sympathy for them, and they would gradually give up their addiction to making appeals in Beijing." China's common people are quite tolerant.

Yet you refuse to do so. Acts of delinquency, dereliction and open destruction of state assets are still escalating. How, then, could people not feel the unfairness of it all? In the spring of 1983, several thousand tons of high-grade corn were spoilt all at once? It was a historical record. You people refused to acknowledge the occurrence and, arranging to give the same story, you reduced the figure to 332 tons. You refused to investigate. When the workers rushed to the grain bureau to seek emergency help, you people were playing poker in the office.

You people committed a two-fold crime: economic disruption and disgracing the Communist Party. You should go and listen to what the masses and cadres of Shuangyashan are saying....

#### Still a Few Dark Clouds

We must first make it clear that all the phenomena discussed above were kept under wraps in the past 2 decades or more. A short article critical of the commerce system entitled "'Counterpart Emulation' or 'Counterpart Pleasure-Seeking'" appearing in RENMIN RIBAO was the only documentation in recent years. Other than that, most reports on Shuangyashan in city, provincial and central newspapers depicted a joyous and encouraging situation. "Counterpart Pleasure-Seeking" should be no big deal, but regrettably the author, first lionized by the townspeople as a hero, had the misfortune to be regarded as a ludicrous Don Quixote figure a few days later. Thereafter, all the newspapers virtually kept silent on the problems discussed by us above. Thus, we can guarantee that, if some among the townspeople of Shuangyashan expressed any dissatisfaction toward the city's party and government leaders prior to January 1984 (RENMIN RIBAO published the first exposé of Shuangyashan on 6 January), the responsibility does not rest on the newspapers.

It appears that, at least in Shuangyashan and at least on the following problems, the negative things in people's minds do not have their origin in shocking newspaper articles, but come from a continuous stream of things which are more vivid, more solid and more persuasive.

A party cadre working year-round in the grain system remarked: "Watching those people ruining the party to such an extent, I am distressed. After struggling for several decades, a good party actually has the capacity to destroy itself!.... I am pessimistic...."

A woman comrade who had engaged in the party's organizational work for many years said: "The overwhelming majority of the worker-party members is good. It is those cadres who have destroyed the party's image! It is alright to consolidate the party and refrain from movements, but the evildoers must not be benefited. A batch of them has to be expelled!"

Let us hear the workers again. In the sixties, Yang Yuchen worked as a temporary help in a brickyard. Without clothes and food, he was so exhausted that he kept falling down. An old grade 4 brick worker by the name of Zhao Xikui [6392 6932 6855], crippled in one hand, used his good hand to help him walk to his own home, and the two became good friends. Afterward, when his

wife became irritated whenever she saw him working on the exposure materials, Yang Yuchen would take Liu Jinhai to Zhao's house and write night after night. Zhao subsequently contracted an incurable disease. Before his death, he summoned Yang and Liu to his house and said his last words: ".... Those section, bureau and plant chiefs are all pigs. Give them a little bran and they're happy. Principles and policies mean nothing. You people expose them and get in their way. Naturally they think of all means to get rid of you! Today the cadres of the section level have grown fat, let alone those of the bureau level. Extorting and womanizing--no one can restrain them. Where will it all lead to? Those with neither morals nor talent, drifting along in the party through the years, doing no good deed, and only skilled in wasting are the scourge of the party and the people! 'A crowd cannot resist death; a large house cannot withstand waste.' There are today so many spendthrifts in party and state organs who, in addition to their evil deeds, make false accusations and destroy the innocent. How can we not think of a surefire plan to eliminate them?.... Brother Yang, you two must work hard, combine your strengths and do not ever become disheartened. If you do not succeed, I cannot rest in peace in death...."

Those people are unconcerned about such punishments as "intraparty warning" and "suggestion of administrative dismissal;" what they fear is to have their names in papers facing the people. After 1980, Yang Yuchen and Liu Jinhai focused their work on party papers. In 1981 and 1983, RENMIN RIBAO reporters twice visited Shuangyashan. In early 1984, the paper published two articles exposing the serious problems in the city's grain system and intra-party life. The leading organs of Heilongjiang province sent investigation groups to the city. Currently, the investigations are still underway.

With great expectations, cadres and masses of the city are giving their close attention to the investigation groups. There have been quite a number of provincial and municipal investigation and work groups in recent years, but we hope that this time the problems will not simply vanish and we also hope that the newspaper articles will not be completely repudiated as being "totally unfounded" as in some provinces, only to be reversed again 3 years later as "totally true."

The people's concern is not groundless. They have heard reporters fiercely reviled and rumors of "the arrest of Yang Yuchen, Liu Jinhai and Xia Zhongyi." Those of ill repute are still being promoted. The new vice mayor declared that there will be "no investigation of personal responsibility" in enterprises with serious problems. Thus, one cannot help wondering: "Will a man cut his own tail with his own knife?"

Nevertheless, the situation is still hopeful. When reading the critical articles in the papers, people, rather than being discouraged, are excited. The problems of the grain bureau have not been solved, but letters exposing those of the federation of supply and marketing cooperatives, foreign trade bureau and public security, and of the "three categories of undesirables," factional forces and organizational lines are pouring in to the newspaper offices in an endless stream.

Facts are after all the most tenacious. They cannot be repudiated.

Sometimes you vouch for someone, but he lets you down. Originally, the mil-  
dewing and deterioration of the "up to 1,000 ton" of corn were to be denied  
and the report had been made, but a long-distance call came to say that "it  
was not up to 1,000 ton; according to computation, it was up to 10,000 tons!"  
The corn problem was to be denied, but another call came: There are also  
problems with the wheat--5,000 jin of wheat have grown worms. Some people  
even computed the number of worms per kilogram as 17 to 227!

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CSO: 4005/733

## CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

### IMPLEMENTATION OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY DISCUSSED

Xiangtan XIANGTAN DAXUE SHEHUI KEXUE XUEBAO in Chinese No 2, 1984 pp 28-32

[Article by Li Shenglin [2621 3932 2651] and Feng Tongqing [7458 0681 1987]: "Lenin, Mao On Direct Democracy"]

[Text] Lenin said: "The masses should be allowed to directly participate in democratic construction from below upwards in all areas of national life. (Liening Xuanji-Selected Works of Lenin, vol 3, p 47) The people of the Chinese Communist Party, as represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, during the experiences of the Chinese revolution and national construction, enriched and developed this idea of Lenin's and gained valuable experience in doing so. The following is an attempt to analyze these experiences.

1. Direct Promotion of Government Construction by Mass Organizations is an Effective Form of Direct Democracy. After the proletariat gains revolutionary power, it is necessary to unify representative democracy with popular direct democracy. Marx and Lenin discussed the various forms of this unification. One of the important features is that mass organization activities directly promote government construction. Based on the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that a proletarian state government ought to be a political structure and ought to be a unification of centralized authority and grassroots autonomy. After the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, took the mass organization soviets and directly transformed them into a proletarian state government. They later were established as workers' union organizations. Lenin believed that unions were strong state organs and were organizations to educate, attract and train the masses. Without this type of organization as a foundation it would not be possible to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat or carry out the functions of the proletarian state. Obviously, Marx and Lenin both advocated direct reliance on revolutionary mass organizations and promotion of government construction, and subsequently urged all the people to gradually learn management of the state.

During the long period of the revolution and national construction, Comrade Mao Zedong attached extreme importance to the major role of revolutionary mass organizations in government construction. During the initial period of the revolutionary regime, he demonstrated the necessity of direct reliance by the red regime on the support of mass organizations. He pointed out: "The areas in which the Chinese red government was first able to develop and last for a long

time were not the areas which had not yet been influenced by the democratic revolution", but were areas which "once had very large union and agricultural organizations, and had a number of economic and political struggles of the worker-peasant class against the landlord-gentry class and the bourgeoisie." (Mao Zedong Xuanji-Selected Works of Mao Zedong, pp 49-50) He also pointed out that the communist party must lead the mass organizations in participating in government construction. He said that because "the evil habits of arbitrary autocracy were deeply planted in the minds of even the general party members during the feudal period, they therefore cannot be swept out in a single instant." They "whenever possible schemed for advantages and had no liking for the bothersome democratic system." This required that the proletarian political party energetically conduct propaganda and educational work. (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, p 71) Later, Comrade Mao Zedong described attracting the masses to participate in government activities and giving them a political education as one of the conditions necessary for realizing party leadership. Consequently, the party increased its conscious awareness of direct reliance on mass organizations for establishing the revolutionary government. This is just as Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: "The mass organizations have extremely high prestige and the government has power only through the appeal for mass support. If peasant association prestige is at a low point, this makes it difficult to appeal to the peasants to support the government. Therefore, the mass organizations have increasingly high prestige among the masses. This high prestige is the result of party leadership." (Liu Shaoqi Xuanji-The Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi, p 239) During the War of Liberation, the people in the liberated areas used the poor peasant leagues and the peasant associations as a foundation for establishing two levels of peoples' congresses. Comrade Mao Zedong believed that with the establishment of the people's congress these would then become an organ of the people's power, while the poor peasant league and the peasant association then became their helpers. One difference between the revolutionary government we established and that established by the Soviets is that the mass organizations were not directly transformed into government organs with subsequent reestablishment of the mass organizations, but rather the mass organizations were used as a foundation to establish a government, moreover after establishing the government there was continued maintenance and development of mass organizations to support and promote the work of government construction. China is a country lacking democratic traditions and it has a huge population, and without a people's direct democracy there can be no revolutionary dictatorship. On the revolutionary road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture the cities, without the support of mass organizations it would be difficult to develop the role of grassroots government organizations. After the beginning of the socialist period, our party took steps to develop this experience. Early in the 1950's, we broadly established resident committees and rural dwellers mediation organizations. This was an effective means to consolidate the grassroots government and develop an effective form of socialist democracy. Its distinctly Chinese manner received worldwide acclaim. Unfortunately, in the 10 years of chaos, these organizations, just like the grassroots government, sank into conditions of semi and full paralysis. At the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "In the area of democratic practices, in the past we did not do enough, and we moreover made mistakes," "democracy and modernization, just the same, can only progress step by step." (Selected

Writings of Deng Xiaoping, p 154) With the resolution issued by the 6th Party Congress, the establishment of a high level of socialist democracy was an important topic of discussion, and they moreover requested that in the "grassroots government and in basic social life there be gradual implementation of popular direct democracy." It was later also resolved to transform the commune system of government administration merged with commune management and establish a township government; this makes a more rational division of urban and rural grassroots level state power and the duties of the administrative organs. This safeguards the autonomous activities of the resident committees and rural dwellers committees. It moreover is included in the country's basic laws. In terms of the democracy of the broad urban and rural grassroots government, this provided the organizational and legal safeguards which enabled each citizen to actually participate in public affairs. The regulations concerning the neighborhood committees and the peasants committees relied even more on the developments of mass organization government construction in the new period.

2. Direct Popular Elections of Grassroots Government is the Major Component of Direct Democracy. Marx viewed the leadership organs elected in the general elections of the Paris Commune as a path that ought to be followed by all levels of proletarian government. However, this cannot be accomplished in an instant and in carrying it out it is possible to encounter difficulties. For example, in 1918 the Soviet constitution ruled that the urban soviets and rural soviets would be directly elected by the voters. However, the results of the election at the constitutional congress showed a possibility that the state government would fall into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. Consequently, Lenin decided to halt the electoral system and change to an appointment system. Not until 1926 did the class situation improve so that the first broad, public and direct election could take place. This explains that certain pre-conditions must be met to permit the people to exercise the right to vote.

Comrade Mao Zedong used theory and practice to carry out the enormous task of directly electing the grassroots government. Early on in the revolutionary base areas, the party carried out direct elections of the grassroots government. Comrade Mao Zedong viewed these elections as being related to the greater issue of the nature of authority and demanded that the words and substance be in agreement. He pointed out: "The county, district and township levels of government have been organized on a wide basis. However, the name and substance are not in agreement...they are a kind of election by mass meeting...a noisy, disordered mass meeting in which issues cannot be discussed and the masses cannot be given political training," so education must be used to transform such conditions. (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, p 71) He also refuted the mistaken view that "the people cannot conduct democratic elections." During the War of Resistance, some people said that the peasants are ignorant and incapable of exercising democratic government. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "During the War of Resistance the peasants made very rapid progress, so with leadership and planning they definitely can implement democratic government. For example, democratic government has already been implemented in North China. The heads of the districts, townships and the Baojia mostly were chosen through popular election. The county chiefs were also elected in popular elections,

with many progressive figures and promising young people being elected." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, p 551-552) Because of complete recognition of the importance of popular elections and with correct planning and leadership, the grassroots level direct elections during the period of our democratic revolution were successful. The special features were a realistic approach, focus on the essence of democracy and the non-pursuit of democratic forms beyond conditions of the times. We can clearly see in this that our methods had some points in common with Lenin's methods, and some which were dissimilar. The similar points are that both strived to embody proletarian characteristics in grassroots government and the struggle to implement direct elections by the people. Dissimilar points are that Russia, from the assumption of power till the death of Lenin, was constantly in a state of war or chaos, so the bolsheviks were forced to forego elections; while the establishment of government followed a process of partial development, the whole country, so that it had a relatively stable situation and was able to gradually expand and enlarge the direct elections. These methods continued after the founding of the nation. When formulating the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Liu Shaoqi stressed that the formation of all levels of the People's Congress must be based on general elections. He simultaneously pointed out that the implementation of a completely universal, equal, direct and secret election system was a process that required certain conditions. Consequently, in the 1950's, direct elections were carried out below county level, mostly using a show of hands to meet the conditions of mass lack of experience and widespread illiteracy. Under the conditions of those times, this actually gave full protection for the democratic rights of the masses at the grassroots level of government. During the 10 years of chaos, all forms of elections ceased.

In recent years, in order to permit the masses to participate in the management of national affairs, the party central committee transformed and formulated our election laws. According to the changes which took place in all aspects of Chinese politics, economics and culture, it was determined that direct elections would change from a plurality to a majority and that the scope would be enlarged to the county level. Comrade Peng Zhen announced that for the people to exercise their authority in electing representatives to organize the government and run the nation was their greatest and most basic right. Reform of the grassroots election system made the direct election of our grassroots government even more true to the name, made it more realistic and was a giant step for the democratic rights of the broad people.

3. The Direct Supervision of National Government by the People as a Major Way of Implementing Direct Democracy. Only when the people's elections are accompanied with supervision by the people are they truly in accord with democratic principles. The people's direct supervision of the nation's government is a major way of implementing direct democracy. Marx believed that the public servants of the proletarian government are responsible to the electorate and can be recalled at any time. Of course, Marx also held the concept of mutual supervision between proletarian government agencies. However, because he strongly opposed the bourgeois principle of the "separation of the three branches of government," the main leadership was the direct leadership of the people. Lenin also believed that proletarian government ought to be direct government by the people, or, at least, it ought to be subject to special

supervision by the people, with recall of public servants with the people's permission. Before the October Revolution, Lenin abided by the principle that the proletarian government must "practice what it preaches," and never gave thought to establishing other government organs separate from the Soviets. He also strongly advocated the establishment and formulation of systems and laws for the direct supervision of state organs. Until 1918, he still strongly advocated the implementation of popular supervision from below to above. Later, Lenin considered the complexity of adding direct supervision to the appointment system of public officials and changed his advocacy to the issue of supervision between state organs, and he moreover included in the Soviet Constitution the right of the soviets to supervise and recall the government. During the final period of Lenin's life, his views on supervision made further progress, and he implemented the various forms of supervision--state supervision, supervision by supervisory organs and direct worker supervision. In short, under the dangerous conditions of those times, with the split between the bolsheviks and the other parties, the extreme lack of discipline among the workers and the hesitation of the broad peasants, there were certain difficulties facing direct popular supervision. This explains why implementation of direct popular supervision, especially in a systematic and legal fashion is such a difficult task.

Comrade Mao Zedong exerted effort in implementing direct popular supervision. Long ago in the establishment of the Jinggangshan government, he initiated a movement of mass control through the reporting of immoral behavior of democratic government workers, and believed that this was a necessary condition for properly carrying out construction of the government. He pointed out that only by properly leading a movement to report such behavior "would they be able to perfect their organs of government and enable it to provide even stronger leadership in the revolutionary struggle, in all aspects of work and in economic work." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, p 111) In order to properly carry out democratic government construction in the anti-Japanese base areas, Comrade Mao Zedong asked the communist party members in the government on the one hand to support revolutionary principles and on the other hand to accept more party-mass supervision. After the founding of the nation, our party completed the proletarian party control of the government. In 1956, in his work "Lun Shi Da Guanxi--The Ten Major Relationships," Comrade Mao mentioned the issue of the scope of broad popular supervision, i.e., the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" with the democratic parties. In 1957, he systematically expounded upon this in "On the Correct Resolution of Contradictions Among the People." He said, "The workers and party member masses provide the major supervision for the communist party. However, it is even more beneficial for us to have the democratic parties," "it is the same for both a person and the party in the need to hear differing views." (On the Correct Resolution of Contradictions Among the People," vol 5, pp 394, 395) Everyone knows that none of the democratic parties are organs of state power, and that their supervision of the controlling communist party differs from state supervision of the government by the organs of state power. However, they can attend the peoples congress and can even simultaneously have meetings to discuss affairs of state, carry on discussions and debates with the controlling communist party and make criticisms and suggestions. This just the same as the masses having the authority to criticize, suggest, rebuke, inform on or report grade one state organs or workers, and is a kind of direct mass

supervision. The difference with the Soviets is that early in the period of government construction our party established close relationships with the masses and with the revolutionary democratic parties, and also during the long period of struggle they forged strong bonds which formed the basis for direct popular supervision and for direct democratic party supervision. Nonetheless, we have also learned bitter lessons in such areas. For a long time, we have not systematized or legalized direct popular supervision, including direct supervision by democratic parties. In the party rectification movement of 1957, many correct and even well-intentioned criticisms and suggestions were taken as rightist opposition, which harmed a good many comrades along with friends who had long cooperated with the party. Such conditions became even more severe during the decline in the 10 years of chaos.

After the 3rd Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party issued repeated injunctions on the value of mass supervision. In August of 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping commented on the reforms to the state leadership system and pointed out, "it is necessary to have a mass supervision system," "all those who abuse authority and privilege and who do not reform after undergoing criticism and education are subject to the legal reporting, accusations, impeachment, recall, and dismissal by the people." (Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping, p 292) In recent years, we have successively formulated professional and personal life regulations for all levels of cadres, the new constitution rules that the people have the authority to use forms other than the system of people's congress to supervise the state organs and the workers. This is the first time since the founding of the nation. In the development of the supervision by the democratic parties we also have made successful efforts. In January of 1982, Comrade Hu Yaobang said, "In the new historical period, we definitely must establish close relations and share in the glory and the blame." In this way, the direct supervision by the democratic parties will have new content and features. The new constitution also included in its prologue the status and role of the NPCCC organizations in the nation's political life. This also provided recognition of direct supervision by democratic parties in the nation's basic laws. In the new historical period, supervision of state organs by the masses and the democratic factions began to be systematized and legalized and thus has entered a new stage.

4. The Direction of Development in Direct Democracy is to Expand Democracy into Each Aspect of Social Life. Democracy is a political category and it is a kind of tool. It is correct for the proletarian and revolutionary leadership to emphasize the features of democracy. This is because the bourgeoisie claims that the sovereignty lies with the people and boasts that this system represents the whole people, which definitely reveals their class nature. Yet, it is not possible to achieve absolute comprehension and completely negate non-political forms of democracy. The key lies in what the revolutionary leaders Marx, Engels and Lenin emphasized as the quintessence of the political category of democracy.

In 1834, when Engels said that democracy is a political form and tool, he was warning the people not to stray from politics in discussing democracy. This was because at that time the German petty bourgeoisie ignored actual class conditions and made democracy their goal with the fantasy of establishing a

peasant-petty bourgeois rule. Engels believed that under the conditions of bourgeois rule such a view was a reversal for the proletariat and ought to be resolutely opposed. In 1920, when Lenin said that democracy was the superstructure, he also was warning the people that straying from politics in discussing democracy would create chaos. Consequently, at that time, Trotsky promoted the abstraction "production democracy" among the workers. Lenin believed that given the turbulent conditions in restoring the national economy this would not benefit the workers in achieving a complete understanding of the party's work methods and severely criticized it. Consequently, discussion of democracy must consider the political links of the times. Insofar as we see things, this is what classical Marxist-Leninist writers stress as the basic meaning of democracy as a political category. Actually, politics develops in the wake of social developments. In "The Origins of The Family, Private Ownership and the State," Engels first spoke of democracies in primitive societies then spoke of democracy in class societies and finally quoted (Moergeren's) discussion of democracy in an ideal society. Obviously, the democracy found in primitive societies and in ideal societies does not belong to the political democracy found in a class society, and we should not absolutely limit democracy to the realm of politics. Lenin believed that certain aspects of primitive society democracy were reborn in socialist conditions. This revealed to us that when democracy develops to a certain stage it is necessary to expand its scope. After the proletariat assumes power, and discussion of democracy of necessity is linked to practical conditions, it is even more important to consider changes in the political conditions and continually push for progress in democracy both in depth and breadth. In this way, under socialist conditions, democracy will exceed the political categories and moreover can become a goal. Marx and Engels did not experience socialist practices and Lenin's socialist practices also were brief. However, Lenin had already clearly sensed that socialist democracy ought be expanded from pure politics into the realm of economics and also be made a goal of struggle. He said, "In the bourgeois view of the world, politics seems to be cut off from economics, the bourgeoisie say,...politics in the area of economics is your subjective viewpoint. This is actually not so, and politics ought to be a topic for the people." We ought to "gradually turn the center toward the economic area of politics." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol 4 p 370) Yet, in short, the development of socialist democracy has become a task left to later generations.

During his experiences in socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong gave consideration to the problem of how to make socialism develop along a democratic course. At the same time that he strongly emphasized that socialism is a tool, in summing up the influences of the Soviet 12th Congress and the Boxiung affair he suggested that democracy is a goal. He said, "Our objective is to create a political situation that is both centralized and democratic, having both laws and freedom with both a unified will and individual expression and liveliness." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 5 p 456-457) He emphasized that democracy is a political category, and at the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, he also gave his thoughts on expanding the scope of democracy. He sharply pointed out that the people must have the power to manage the superstructure and that we must not understand the issue of the people's rights as the rights of labor, education and social guarantees.

The workers have the right to run the state, manage assorted enterprises and manage education. These are the workers' greatest rights under socialism and are the most basic rights. Without these rights there would be no right to work, learn or rest. (Quoted in Ye Jianying, "Report on Constitutional Revisions," 1 Mar 1978). From these penetrating remarks we can derive several conclusions: under socialist conditions we must permit the people to have democratic rights, this is one objective for constructing socialism; the people's democratic rights are not limited to political democracy and also include various economic, cultural and social rights; some democratic rights ought to be directly carried out by the people. Just like Lenin, these views of Comrade Mao Zedong reflect the progress made in the theory of socialist democracy during practice. Moreover, some of the formulations of Comrade Mao Zedong seem to be more explicit. However, generally speaking, there is insufficient systematic and concrete study on the issue of party acceptance of Mao Zedong theory on socialist democracy, and there is a lack of complete understanding of his position and role in socialist matters. This is a major reason why the 10 years of chaos later took place.

The masses who underwent the 10 years of chaos deeply feel that without democracy the socialist system is incomplete and even might be distorted. The 3rd Plenum used the form of a resolution to affirm this basic goal and basic task. Comrade Hu Yaobang represented the party Central Committee in expressing the leadership of the communist party in all aspects of national life, with the objective of supporting the people as masters of their own destiny. The party's guiding ideology has clearly made the construction of a high degree of socialist democracy as its goal to struggle for and this has greatly motivated progress in the socialist democratization of China. It is just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The more socialism develops, the more democracy develops." We must "thoroughly promote popular democracy, guarantee that the whole people truly have the power to use an assortment of effective measures to manage the state, especially the grassroots local government and all types of enterprises, and that they have all their rights as citizens." (Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, p 154, 232) In recent years, while our party has strengthened grassroots government, it simultaneously has emphasized that grassroots organizations in economics, culture and so on gradually implement popular direct democracy, and guarantee that people exercise broad rights of self-government at the grassroots level of society. Both in practice and in theory, this changes the previous narrow concept that socialist democracy is limited to political realms, and establishes the correct viewpoint that socialist democracy embraces political democracy, economic democracy and social democracy, and it promotes the gradual implementation of popular direct democratic rights. It must be said that these incorporate the new developments of the Marxist-Leninist theories of direct democracy under Chinese conditions.

To sum up, one of the special features of socialist democracy is its unification of representative democracy with direct democracy. Our party is realistic, it sums up the positive and negative features of its experiences to gradually put together a set of principles and policies which suit our national conditions to implement direct democracy. In recent years, the party has emphasized that the actions of state power must be based on mass self-government actions, has emphasized the use of state laws to guarantee popular direct democracy, and so

on. We need only take an unwavering stance in the implementation of this and we certainly will be able to take a distinctively Chinese path in implementing popular direct democracy and carry forward the theories of Mao Zedong thought on popular direct democracy. Following social developments, socialist democracy will continuously expand and the higher levels of socialist society, not just the grassroots levels, also will implement direct democracy, and, moreover, all realms of society will implement direct democracy.

11582

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## CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

### ESTABLISHMENT OF VILLAGE GOVERNMENT SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Xiangtan XIANGTAN DAXUE SHEHUI KEXUE XUEBAO in Chinese No 2, 1984 pp 33-34

[Article by Ouyang Xiungfei [2926 7122 7160 7378]: "Some Experiences of Zhentou Township in Liuyang County in Constructing a Village Government System"]

[Text] Recently, we made an investigation of the Liuyang county Hunan province conditions in the establishment of separate government and commune systems. The experiences of this village in establishing a government system show us: the village committee is a mass self-government organization for the grassroots people to implement direct democracy and is an effective path for carrying out a high degree of socialist democracy. Their concrete methods and experiences are as follows:

1. The village committees have a broad basis of development among the masses and were produced through direct election by the grassroots people. At the end of 1982, Zhentou township of Liuyang county completed its work in the reform of the village government system. The major features of government system construction in this township are as follows: The change from a brigade party branch to a village party branch, the change from a brigade management committee to a village committee, the change from government-enterprise joint brigades to economic joint committees. The village committee is produced through election in the village congress or by the village representatives. The village committee is generally composed of 5-7 people: one village head, 1-2 deputy village heads, and one secretary-treasurer; at the same time, they also elected the personnel for the economic joint committee. Below village level the original production teams formed the basis for establishing village people's teams, with mass direct election of a person functioning both as production team chief and village team chief. The 13 villages of Zhentou township altogether elected 78 village committee members, including 13 females. Of the original 13 brigade heads who took part in this mass direct election, only 3 were elected village heads. The village committee elections are generally held once each year, according to regulations. Incompetent cadres can be recalled at any time by a village people mass meeting or by the village people's congress. In the past the village brigade management committee was not chosen through an election system, and they were generally appointed or dismissed through actions by the commune party committee; otherwise, they were assigned by the commune party committees at commune mass meetings. The system of appointment or assignment severely weakened the democratic rights of grassroots direct election of the production brigade management committees and

caused official airs and arrogance among the grassroots cadres. Some of the brigade cadres in the past would wilfully and carelessly treat the manpower, materials and finances and would transgress against the citizen's democratic rights, and so were called "local hegemons" by the masses. Now, however, the villagers directly elect or remove the responsible people in the village government, and thus are able to carry out effective democratic supervision of the grassroots cadres. Proof of this is found in the fact that only 3 of the 13 originally appointed Zhentou township brigade chiefs survived the election. The masses spoke with clear understanding: In previous popular elections, we were only the wives and never were masters of our affairs or destiny. The current elections chose capable people, while incapable people were discarded. This is truly called the selection of those who are honest and capable.

2. The village committees provide close party-mass relations and are bonds of party-mass relationships. All of the members of the party branch, the village committee and the village economic joint committee in the 13 villages of Zhentou township are engaged in production. Their work compensation underwent democratic criticism by the village people and in all cases they implemented fixed compensation and compensation for time missed from work. The village cadres who receive fixed compensation mostly are the five posts of village party branch secretary, the village chief, the head of the economic committee, the accountant, and the head of the women's committee. Actually however, only the secretary, village chief and accountant receive fixed compensation, while the rest are paid with a dual method for their duties and their regular work. The fixed compensation is monthly pay of 20-25 yuan, and this is taken from what is transferred upward by the production teams or village-operated enterprises. As for the remaining village cadres who miss work because of their duties, they are paid for time lost from work. Because all of the village cadres do engage in work, they directly perform some productive labor and are at one with the people. They receive no special treatment, so this not only reduces the burden on the masses, it reverses the previous situation whereby "they reached out in all directions to take from the production brigades, and everywhere undermined the foundations of the collective." They moreover have united the individual benefits and family benefits of the cadres with the public benefits of the villagers and the collective benefits, which is helpful in thoroughly mobilizing and stimulating village cadre enthusiasm and improving work efficiency. In the past, the 200 mu of wet and dry fields as well as the commune members of Tuqiao village in Zhentou township had obvious problems which long went unresolved. After the village committee was established, with the support of the village government, just prior to 1983, the village committee made an overall plan, and thus used the foundations of mass volunteerism to amass capital. Within a short period they built an electric powered irrigation station and dug irrigation channels, thus resolving the farm field problems and providing each home with electric power and light. The masses happily said: "The wonderful cadre work spirit of the 1950's has returned to Tuqiao village."

3. Full use of the role of village committee self-government functions permits it to become a bridge between the people's government and the people themselves. The work experiences of the 13 villages of Zhentou township show the functions of the village people's committee are as follows: carry out

responsible management of the village's public affairs and public benefits; properly carry out the regulations and purchases, collection of financial and grain taxes, civil government emergency aid, public security, arbitration of disputes, health and education, family planning, civil defense and other such tasks, as well as other duties turned over by the township people's government. Although the village committees are mass self-government organizations, they still consciously accept and obey party and government leadership. At the same time, they make timely reports to the upper levels of the party and the government reflecting mass views and needs, make suggestions and carry out supervision. This thoroughly utilizes the linking role of the village committee. In 1981, the Yang family production team of Tuqiao village in Zhentou township had an instance of theft of the collective's tea-seed cakes. The collective sought help from the commune, which turned the issue over to the district, which referred it to the county, which then gave it back to the commune. The issue was handed back and forth, and never was resolved. In 1982, this village had another instance of theft of state and collective tea-seed cakes. The village committee promptly reported this to the township government, requesting that someone be sent to solve the case; at the same time, the village head lead the security personnel and the village cadres in making a conscious effort to protect state and collective property. Later, the village chief joined with the township government in conducting an investigation. This cooperative investigation quickly cleared up the case of the missing tea-seed cakes. Moreover, the forestry laws were applied in punishing the leaders, thus quickly stopping such behavior. The government and masses gave favorable criticism, clearly showing the bridging function of the village committees.

With the establishment of the village committee and the implementation of the agricultural production responsibility system, many grassroots cadres feared that from now on it would be difficult to carry out the tasks of requisition and purchase and that all tasks would be more and more difficult. However, because the political and economic forms of the village committee and the agricultural production responsibility system suit China's rural production forces' level of development and production relationships, they consequently greatly promoted production and developed the production forces. The 13 villages of Zhentou township are having a prosperous year in all endeavors, each household has an abundant harvest. The 1983 average per capita income exceeded all historical records and the people have a very standard of living. Consequently, Zhentou township's purchase and requisition tasks for this year, except for some party work, virtually had no instances of cadres going to the lower levels to urge them to turn over the requisitions or purchased products. In all cases the commune members overfulfilled their obligations and willingly sent the patriotic grains and abundant harvest grains to the government. The village cadres said with deep understanding: "With the reforms to the system, it is much easier being a cadre."

Article 111 of our Constitution reads: "The resident committees and village committees established by the inhabitants of these areas are the grassroots mass organizations of self-government." The experiences of Zhentou township, Liuyang county clearly show: The village committees established in the cities and the countryside according to the constitution certainly are an excellent

form for the grassroots people to be masters of their own destiny and exercise socialist direct democracy; they are bonds and links for close party-mass relationships, cadre-mass relationships and government-mass relationships; they suit our rural production forces' level of development and production relationship conditions as needed for the construction of the infrastructure and the superstructure; during the process of accelerating the construction of the four rural modernizations it will increasingly exhibit the great vital force of the mass self-government organizations.

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NORTH REGION

INITIAL PARTY RECTIFICATION WORK DISCUSSED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by staff reporter: "Provincial CPC Committee Convenes Mobilization Meeting for Provincial and Central Government-controlled Municipal-level Organizations Entering Comparison and Examination Stage of Party Rectification"]

[Excerpts] This afternoon, the provincial CPC committee convened a mobilization meeting for provincial and central government-controlled, municipal-level organizations entering the comparison and examination stage of party rectification. The meeting called for the comparison and examination to be carried out by firmly focusing on the overall objectives of this party jectification.

Provincial committee secretary Gao Zhanxiang [7559 0594 4382] took charge of the meeting. Provincial CPC committee secretary Xing Chongzhi [6717 1504 2535] represented the provincial CPC committee and gave a speech. Present at the meeting were comrades of the liaison group from the Central Committee's Party Rectification Work Guidance Commission stationed in our province; standing members of the provincial CPC committee; the provincial consultative committee and other preparatory groups; the standing committee of the provincial people's congress; the provincial government; the responsible people in the provincial government's party assistance groups; and the responsible people in the provincial commission for the inspection of discipline. Also attending the meeting were party committee and party group members, advisers and responsible people in the party rectification offices from every ministry, office, committee, department and bureau--over 1,500 people in all.

Comrade Xing Chongzhi said that according to the circumstances of checking and accepting the examination, the majority of our province's separtments and bureaus can successively enter the comparison and examination stage between now and before the end of March. After 4 months of party rectification study, these units have had results mainly in five areas. 1) The great majority of party members understand and grasp the basic guiding principles, responsibilities and policies of party rectification, and they have corrected their attitudes toward party rectification. 2) The thinking of great numbers of party members has recognized and united behind the spirit of the 3d Plenum of the Central Committee of the 11th CCP Congress and has raised the consciousness of keeping in line with the party Central Committee. 3) The great majority of the departments and bureaus have come up with tentative solutions to the major

problems to be solved in those units and in the leadership groups during party rectification. Among these, the generally outstanding problems were political slowness, conservative thinking, listless spirit and incorrect style. Everyone realized that the great problems at that time holding up a breakthrough were not understanding the overall situation, not daring to reform because of clinging to the old and not daring to make a breakthrough. The work of sorting out the "three types of people" and purifying the organization are now progressing solidly. 4) All units have already been preliminarily rectified and reformed, and officials who have occupied too much housing, embezzled public money and public property illegally changed their status to "non-farmer" have been dismissed, cases of dereliction of duty and malfeasance have been investigated and punished, meetings and paperwork have been reduced and other problems--over 3,000--have been solved. 5) The leadership groups of every unit and organization underwent preliminary training and testing after the reform to raise their fighting capacity.

Comrade Xing Chongzhi emphasized that comparison and examination should be carried out by firmly focusing on the overall objectives of this party rectification, and through comparison and examination, one should make the best of strong points and overcome weak points. For the most part, comparison and examination will take 3 months and be carried out in three steps. The first step will take about half a month to complete all the preparatory work for comparison and examination. The second step will take about 2 months to carry out comparison and examination and begin criticism and self-criticism. The third step will take about half a month to complete the summary checking and acceptance. As far as the length of time involved for specific units is concerned, this can be individually determined and arbitrary uniformity should not be enforced. Comparison and examination should be carried out from top to bottom--first the leadership group and leadership cadres and then party members and masses. The leadership group should undergo not only collective comparison and examination but also individual comparison and examination; generally speaking, the collective should come first and the individual after. In addition to comparison and examination to be carried out within the leadership group and in addition to criticism and self-criticism, the members of the leadership group should also carry out comparison and examination in the party branch locations. The principal circumstances of the leadership group collective- and individual-member comparison and examination should be reported to party members as a whole, using appropriate methods; comments and criticisms should be listened to. The leadership groups which are to perform collective comparison and examination are the leadership groups above the department and bureau level and the second-level bureaus, companies, research institutes and other independent units belonging to departments and bureaus. All advisers, observers and investigators who have not taken part at their respective levels in their party groups and party committees should take part in the comparison and examination of the party branches where they are stationed. Comparison and examination for party members and the masses should be carried out in the party groups or branches.

Xing Chongzhi said that the leadership group at all levels should emphasize the great problems of investigating those units' thorough implementation of the party line, guiding principles and policies. Comrade Gao Yang [7559 2254],

in his investigation-propaganda front speech to the standing committee of the provincial CPC committee, pointed out the problem of fronts not appropriate to the new circumstances and noted that other fronts exist to varying degrees. All units must keep in line with the Central Committee based on the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress. The main issues to be investigated are: 1) whether the attitude toward handling the four basic principles is correct; 2) whether the implementation of the party's line, guiding principles and policies since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the great plan of the Central Committee has been vigorous; 3) whether the work of guiding thinking is in line with the Central Committee's guiding principles, line and demand for a breakthrough; 4) whether people have conscientiously submitted to and served the party's overall assignments and objectives; 5) what problems of not adapting to new circumstances still exist in thought, style, discipline, organization and other areas, and whether we have the courage to reform, blaze new trails boldly and develop and advance under the guidance of the Central Committee's guiding principles and line; and 6) whether we dare to hold firm to principle and carry out a resolute struggle against all kinds of mistaken inclinations and tendencies running counter to the party's line, guiding principles and policies. In the above areas, each unit can start off according to its own actual conditions and with its own particular emphasis. Investigation of the problems since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and investigation of the issue of what is presently impeding a breakthrough should be emphasized. Comparison and examination for individuals should be carried out according to the standards for party members and the qualifications for party member leadership cadres stipulated in the party constitution. We must both investigate the problems existing in the guiding thought of the political line and professional work and also investigate problems existing in the party spirit, style, discipline and other areas. We must emphasize the investigation of the party's "leftist" and rightist mistaken tendencies since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and what influence they have had; how much of a gap in thought and politics there has been in keeping in line with the Central Committee; what insufficiencies there have been in wholeheartedly serving the people and inspiring revolutionary spirit; what problems still exist in thoroughly implementing the party's guiding principles for life; and how well the tasks of upholding the party spirit, overcoming factionalism and changing the weak and lax attitude toward ideological and political work and other tasks have been done.

Comrade Xing Chongzhi pointed out that every party member should carry out a penetrating self-criticism of his shortcomings and mistakes, with an attitude of responsibility to the party and the people; he must have the courage to illuminate the ugly side, be unafraid of losing face and not conceal faults for fear of criticism. Party members should, with an attitude of responsibility to the party and their comrades, have the courage to criticize the shortcomings and mistakes of others and should not be particular about feelings and not want to be the "good old guy." In opening up criticism and self-criticism, one must uphold the "four don'ts," which are: don't capitalize on someone's mistakes, falsely accuse, come down on someone, or coverup criminal cases. One should allow a person to argue his case and allow those who have spoken incorrectly to take things back; extensive heart to heart talks should be

initiated, and an atmosphere in which one has the courage to speak sincerely, and is willing to speak sincerely, must truly be created. Regardless of whether one is engaged in self-criticism or criticism of others, one must uphold the principles of seeking truth from the facts and utilizing a specific analysis for specific problems; one must reason from the facts and persuade people through reason. One must combine the severity and intensity of criticism and self-criticism with a scientific spirit. As for comrades who are guilty of mistakes, the guiding principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the illness to save the patient" should be implemented. It is of course good if a person has done nothing to harm the party or the interests of the people, but if one does not criticize and struggle against wrong thinking and behavior and if one turns big affairs into small affairs, dismisses the small affairs, evades contradictions and curries favor with everyone, then this is in and of itself damaging to the basic interests of the party.

Comrade Xing Chongzhi pointed out that in the comparison and examination stage the spirit of the Central Committee Guidance Commission's circular number 6 should be thoroughly implemented, causing simultaneous rectification and reform to be developed in depth; we must especially achieve clear results in the following six areas: 1) reform by focusing on the great issues of creating a breakthrough and concentrating on professional work; 2) reform by concentrating on the problems which directly affect the interest of the masses and which urgently require solution; 3) reform by concentrating on the unhealthy trends in one's unit of using power for personal gain--for example, coal departments should resolve the problem of using coal for personal gain, material allocation departments should resolve the problem of using materials for personal gain, organization and personnel departments should solve the problem of using personnel issues and labor deployment for personal gain and so on--4) the circumstances of the implementation of all policies should be investigated, we should concentrate on the implementation of all policies which have not been put into effect, especially policies on intellectuals, the united front and so on and we must criticize and educate and in some cases discipline and punish those units which have not implemented those policies which were supposed to be implemented and which have even set them aside and refused to deal with them; 5) we must concentrate on bureaucraticism which is not responsible to the party and the people, concentrate on gross cases of dereliction of duty and malfeasance and after a thorough investigation punish these cases severely; and 6) we must investigate and punish examples of those who undergo rectification and then repeat their offenses.

Comrade Xing Chongzhi pointed out that in order to ensure the healthy and smooth development of the comparison and examination stage of work, the provincial CPC committee requires that every party member must follow the following points of discipline: 1) Every party member must compare party rectification documents, strictly analyze himself, actively investigate his own shortcomings and mistakes and conscientiously improve himself--it is absolutely impermissible to cover up one's mistakes or persist in those mistakes. 2) Every party member must take up the weapons of criticism and self-criticism and have the courage to expose and dispose of the dark side which exists in the party--one must absolutely not take an attitude of liberalism and of being the "good old guy." 3) Every party member must consciously accept the party organization and super-

vision by the masses; he must openmindedly listen to criticism and opinions from all sources and absolutely must not suppress criticism or retaliate. 4) Every party member must, with a positive attitude, help organize and complete the work of examining the "three types of people" and absolutely must not allow the situations of knowing the facts but refusing to act and shielding and protecting the "three types of people" and others who have made severe mistakes. 5) Every party member must uphold the party spirit, root out factionalism and with regard to himself and others, search for the truth from the facts; he absolutely must not allow false accusations, the instigation of factionalism, opportunistic retaliation and the opportunistic rectification of people. 6) Every party member must, while simultaneously performing comparison and examination, do his utmost in performing his own professional work and bring into play the exemplary role of vanguard; party members and leadership cadres at all levels especially should set an example and absolutely must not allow party rectification to be taken as an excuse for adversely affecting work.

At the meeting, the responsible people from the provincial commercial departments, provincial economic committees and provincial family planning commissions introduced experiences in the conscientious study of party rectification documents, focusing on the party's overall objectives and making a breakthrough and so on.

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## NORTH REGION

### PREPARATIONS FOR PARTY RECTIFICATION DISCUSSED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 15 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by Li Cheng [5937 4453]: "Actively Complete Preparations for Comparison and Examination"]

[Text] According to the requirements proposed by the guidance group on party rectification work of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial CPC committee office, addressing problems existing in the reforms under discussion, adopted the "three emphases" method to complete preparations for the next step of comparison and examination.

1. Emphasize the work of the ideological transformation of party members in intermediate states. The provincial CPC committee has over 200 party members, and in the previous study period, not a few were found to be centrist. Among these were some comrades who incorrectly summarized the lessons of past political movements, believing that "to be progressive is dangerous, to lag behind leads to getting picked out and so the middle is safe" and having the attitude of "you rectify your party, I have my own views." During party rectification, they want to remain aloof from the world and safely and smugly find a peaceful haven. For this reason, during study "the person was in the meeting, while his mind was outside, and a few days were spent fooling around and suddenly a week's time had gone by." In discussions, "some had fancy reasons for staying within the bounds of political safety and felt reality did not affect them." Some simply said "Xu Shu [1776 1659] enters Cao's [2580] camp" and "Don't say a word." For this group of people, they have not only held meetings and broadly initiated heart-to-heart talks but have also paid attention to the utilization of progressive examples to encourage ideological change. For example, there was one comrade who, after undergoing study, corrected his attitude toward taking part in party rectification--they promptly helped him sum up his experience and had it printed and distributed to all party branches. Some of the branches even invited him to talk to them about his personal experience and to advise them, using his own experience as an example, thus promoting the ideological transformation of the centrist party members.

2. Emphasize the work of educating young party members. The party members who entered the party during and after the "Cultural Revolution" total 108 in this unit. The "three withouts" party members and the thinking that "there

is nothing to rectify" are prevalent among these comrades. In order to accomplish fully the work of educating this group of party members, the office was upheld the system of "three meetings and one class" and adopted the method of holding party classes and using classes for training, instilling in young party members the party's basic knowledge, standards and spirit and helping these comrades correct their attitudes toward taking part in party rectification, clarify the way to become a qualified party member, learn how to use the weapons of criticism and self-criticism properly and build a good ideological foundation for comparison and examination.

3. Emphasize the establishment of healthy trends, the suppression of unhealthy trends and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to studying to catch up with the advanced countries. In the previous discussion of the reforms, they promptly solved the problems of housing, nurseries, dining halls and other issues of concern to the masses. Recently they made public the facts about those people who, during party rectification, underwent rectification and then repeated their offenses, those who used their positions of authority to seduce women and those who broke financial rules and accepted bribes from Liu Boping [0491 0130 1623] and the three party members who embezzled public funds; they organized all party branches to carry out discussions and let everyone draw the lessons. Simultaneously they vigorously praised the many good people and good deeds brought out by party rectification, which created an atmosphere of promoting healthy trends, suppressing unhealthy trends and studying to catch up with the advanced.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### PRINCIPLES OF MAO ZEDONG'S MILITARY THINKING ANALYZED

Yinchuan NINGXIA SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES IN NINGXIA] in Chinese No 2, May 84 pp 89-94

[Article by Hu Zhitian [7579 0037 3944] and Nie Demin [5119 1795 3046]: "On the System Principles in Mao Zedong's Military Thinking"]

[Text] The system theory is a brand new scientific methodology. As a general methodology of perceiving nature, human society and of thinking, this system methodology is the concrete manifestation of the principle of dialectical materialism. It has increasingly demonstrated its theoretical value which can hardly be underestimated; hence it has aroused people's common attention.

The system principle has a universal and extensive methodological significance. The so-called system means a stable, unified entity composed of a definite number of interacting factors. The system principle holds that within each system itself there exist interconnection and interaction between the various factors, and between itself and things external to it, that is between system and system, there are also interconnection and interaction. The system methodology is namely an approach of placing an object within a system in order to examine it. Concretely speaking, it is a methodology of proceeding from the systematic point of view and consistently examining that object comprehensively and accurately from the interconnections and interactions between the whole and the parts, between parts and parts, and between the whole and its environment so as to attain the optimum goal. Thus the system has the characteristics of being a whole, interconnected, structured, dynamic, and optimum.

The connection between this system principle and materialistic dialectics is very close. It makes our thinking about general connections concrete and turns it into a scientific methodology for solving complicated problems. We may regard it as an intermediate plane between philosophy and concrete science, as a medium and bridge through which the direct connection between dialectical materialism and social practice is brought into reality. The system principle is not only a concrete application of the general connections principle of materialistic dialectics, but also an enrichment and deepening of that principle. The fact that the system methodology has been extensively applied in practice and it has also derived conspicuous results also constitutes further verification of the scientific nature of

materialistic dialectics. Many Western system theory scholars have also admitted that it was Marx who for the first time applied this system methodology to the study of social history, who regarded society as a system, and who took human history as a movement of this system.

The great Marxist Comrade Mao Zedong started as early as the 1930's to dexterously apply the system principle in the solving of China's social problems. In his military works he accurately employed such concepts of the system theory as "system," "major system," "basic elements," and "interconnections," While in carrying out scientific and systematic analyses of such major social problems as the Chinese society, revolution, wars, classes, political parties and the united front Comrade Mao Zedong left no special work on the system principle and system methodology for us, in his works of military science, philosophy and sociology there are left nevertheless brilliant examples of the application of the analyses of the system principle in the solving of problems.

In his practice of leading the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong wrote a great many outstanding military works; these are the products of the unity of the Marxist philosophy and the practice of the Chinese revolution and the parts of Mao Zedong Thought rich in characteristics and brilliance. Mao Zedong's military thinking is very rich, embracing as it does the people's army, people's wars, strategic questions of China's revolutionary wars, as well as how to practice a strategic protracted war and a tactical battle of fast decision in a situation in which the enemy is strong and we are weak, how to turn a weak position in strategy into a strong position in tactical battles, how to concentrate preponderous forces to annihilate enemies individually, how to despise the enemy strategically while taking him seriously and tactically, plus the 10 major military principles formulated during the liberation wars: all of these are outstanding contributions made by Comrade Mao Zedong to the military theory of Marxism-Leninism.

The military works of Comrade Mao Zedong are tinged by heavy philosophical color; while discussing military affairs he also examined philosophy, thus making the two harmonious like milk mingling with water and full of lively Marxism and dialectics. He not only applied dialectics, epistemology and logic to military science, but also scientifically employed the system principles of wholeness, structure, interconnections, and dynamism. It is here that the brilliance of dialectical thinking shines everywhere, that the system principles are crystallized in concentration. As we study anew today Mao Zedong's military thinking, trying to discover and carry out research on the system principles in his military works and to carry out our research by connecting Mao Zedong's military thinking with the thinking of the system methodology, there is no doubt great theoretical significance and realistic meaning for us.

1. Mao Zedong's discourses on questions of war and strategy embody the principle of wholeness of the system theory. This principle of wholeness is the core of the system theory: it is the most fundamental principle and most important characteristic of modern system theory. The principle of wholeness

holds that, while the whole consists in the parts, it is not equivalent to the parts mechanically added together. In terms of functions and dispositions, the whole is greater than the total of the isolated parts. Between the parts of a whole and parts which are isolated, there is also a qualitative difference. This is just like the relationship between the hands and the body: there is a qualitative difference between isolated hands and the hands which are parts of a body.

In his article "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Comrade Mao Zedong's discourse on the whole situation of a war embodies the wholeness principle of the system theory. Said he: "Wherever there is a war, there is a war situation as a whole. The war situation as a whole may cover the entire world, may cover an entire country, or may cover an independent guerrilla zone or an independent major operational front. Any war situation which acquires a comprehensive consideration of its various aspects and stages forms a war situation as a whole."<sup>1</sup> What is here mentioned as the question of the "situation as a whole" which takes into consideration "its various aspects and stages" means an effort to control things from the many "horizontal" and "vertical" aspects; this is a vivid description of the wholeness principle of the system theory. Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "An understanding of the whole facilitates the handling of the part, because the part is subordinate to the whole."<sup>2</sup> This statement is both simple and inclusive and embodies a profound system principle; it denotes the scientific theme that the essence of an element is subordinate to the essence of a system. Therefore, he pointed out that the view that a strategic victory is determined by tactical victories is erroneous, because such a view fails to see the principal and foremost question of the victory or defeat in a war, which is whether or not the situation as a whole and its various stages are well considered. Control over the war situation as a whole means grasp of the essence of the system. Hence, "what is most important for the person in over-all command is to concentrate on attending to the war situation as a whole. The main point is that, according to the circumstances, he should concern himself with the problems of the grouping of his military units and formations, the relations between various operational stages, and the relations between our activities as a whole and the enemy's activities as a whole--all these problems demand his greatest care and effort, and if he ignores them and immerses himself in secondary problems, he can hardly avoid setbacks."<sup>3</sup> (underscoring added by quoter). Proceeding from the wholeness principle, Mao Zedong discussed the importance of the war situation as a whole, and warned commanders of a revolutionary war to acquire an understanding of problems of the situation as a whole like "grouping" and "relations." When one reads Comrade Mao Zedong's succinct discourses of this sort today, one still derives profound enlightenment; its instructive value is profound. From this, we can see that no matter what kind of thing people may try to understand, they doubtless must understand it as a system by proceeding from the wholeness principle, mastering the various aspects, relations and elements within the system, that is, the sum total of all that which constitutes the system. If they depart from the system, cast off the wholeness principle, they are liable to know only one aspect but not another, to see only the trees but not the forest.

The system theory holds that as the new essence produced by convergence and the uniting of many factors into a united entity which gives us more than the mechanical total of all parts, the essence of the system reflects the trait of common cooperation by numerous elements and also possesses a self-transcending prescriptive proclivity. The essence of the system is invisible and intangible; it can be grasped only with the help of abstractive thinking. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The only way to study the laws governing a war situation as a whole is to do some hard thinking. For what pertains to the situation as a whole is not visible to the eye, and we can understand it only by hard thinking; there is no other way."<sup>4</sup> For example, the relations between the enemy and ourselves, the relations between battles or operational stages, the relations between the front and the rear, depletion and resupply, fighting and resting, concentration and dispersion, attack and defense, advance and retreat, shelter and exposure, principal attack and auxiliary attack...Mao Zedong listed nearly 40 "relations" and "connections." These "relations" and "connections" are demonstrated as the essence of the system, as the laws of change of things; therefore only by hard thinking can one understand them, grasp them and master them. In a word, in Mao Zedong's military works, examples of such applications of the wholeness principle for the analysis and solution of problems are too numerous to enumerate them; they are worthy of our serious study.

2. Mao Zedong's discourses on the fundamental elements of a war interacting with one another embody the structure principle of the system theory. The structure principle of the system theory is ordinarily inseparable from its wholeness principle; but the points of emphasis of these two are different from each other. Therefore, in application, one of them is often accentuated according to needs. The structure principle holds that all objective things have their respective structures; a thing without structure simply does not exist. Precisely because objective things have their respective structures, there are therefore, also reflections in people's minds of such objective things, there are questions of people applying the realms of such structures in their spiritual life; the structure of a thing is reflected in the total of the internal connections of the various elements which make up that thing and also the total of the laws of those connections. In order to recognize the laws of movement of a thing, we must understand the nature of that thing; and in order to understand the nature of that thing, we must further understand its structure. The different structure of a thing suggests the different nature of that thing; the change in the structure of a thing brings along also the change in the nature of that thing. Therefore, without a correct understanding of the structure of a thing, we would have no accurate mastery over the nature and laws of that thing.

In his article "On Protracted War," Comrade Mao Zedong conducted some structural analysis of the thing the Sino-Japanese War. As everyone knows, this great work "On Protracted War" is an outstanding Marxist military work, and also a philosophical work. This work is an example of Mao Zedong using materialistic dialectics, i.e., using the system principles to examine the Sino-Japanese War and direct our war of national liberation. It sparkles with brilliance of truth everywhere and its great significance has been commonly acknowledged by all humanity. Studying this work enables us to see

that its scientific strengths are multifarious, and one of them is the use of the system principles to examine this war between China and Japan, to search for the laws of development of the war from its internal imperative connections, and to point out the inevitability of the developmental process of the war. Why was the war of resistance against Japan a protracted war? Why ultimate victory belonged to China? After pointing out the basis of the times, Comrade Mao Zedong conducted a structural analysis of this war between China and Japan itself and carried out a comprehensive examination from the interconnections and interactions of the numerous elements. He pointed out: "The two sides in the war have many contrasting features, which will be considered in turn below."<sup>5</sup> (underscoring added by quoter). On Japan's side, first, it was a strong imperialist country; its military power, economic power and power of political organization were first-class in the Orient. Hence, war was inevitable, and it was impossible for China to achieve speedy victory. Second, the retrogressive nature and savage character of Japan's war conduct: this point was bound to greatly provoke class confrontation within the country, confrontation between the Japanese and the Chinese nation, as well as confrontation between Japan and a majority of the world's countries. Third, Japan is a small country; it lacks manpower, military forces, financial resources, and material resources and can hardly sustain a prolonged war. Fourth, Japan's war conduct cannot but provoke opposition by the world's anti-fascist forces and hence lose its international support because of its unjust stand. On China's side, first, China is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal weak country and is not as strong as Japan in military power, economic power or power of political organization. Second, China is situated in a progressive period; it is like the rising sun as a country; China's war is a progressive and just one. Third, China is a big country; its territory is vast and its material resources abundant; its population is huge and its soldiers are plentiful; they can sustain a prolonged war. Fourth, China's anti-Japanese war enjoys widespread support because of its just stand and can easily win international sympathy and assistance. Comrade Mao Zedong's structural analyses of the Sino-Japanese War were thus objective, comprehensive and scientific, and hence also capable of illustrating the laws of the war. Said he: "These characteristics exist objectively and are not invented to decieve people; they constitute all the basic elements of the war, and are not incomplete fragments; they permeate all major and minor problems on both sides and all stages of the war, and they are not matters of no consequence."<sup>6</sup> It was in this manner that he derived the scientific conclusion on the protracted nature of the anti-Japanese war and on the ultimte victory belonging to China and not Japan from his analyses of the interconnections and interactions of "all the basic elements" of the war (underscoring added by quoter).

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, those which constituted the Sino-Japanese War's "characteristics will change in the course of the war, each according to its own nature; and from this everything else will follow."<sup>7</sup> Although this statement denoted the Sino-Japanese War, it constitutes a superb explanation of the theme that the change in the structure of things lead to the change in the nature of things. Then, he also proceeded to provide a structural design for the anti-Japanese war process, pointing out that this protracted war was to manifest itself concretly in three stages. The

first stage was going to be the period of the enemy's strategic attack and our own strategic defense; the second stage was going to be the period of the enemy's strategic defense and our preparation for counterattack; and the third stage was going to be the period of our strategic counterattack and the enemy's strategic retreat. History has proved that this was a revelation by Comrade Mao Zedong on the internal laws of this war and a scientific foresight of the process of this war. Today, as we study "On Protracted War" anew, we are enabled to see how superbly and dexterously Mao Zedong had applied the structure principle; it makes us feel that there has been, indeed, too much beauty for us to absorb it all or study it all!

3. Comrade Mao Zedong's discourses on the interrelationship between war and a country's national situation, and between war and the times embody the interconnection principle of the system theory. This interconnection principle of the system theory is built on the basis of objective dialectics concerning the general interconnections and movement and development of things. Engles said: "The whole world of nature which we face forms a system, that is, the sum total of all interconnected things,...these things are interconnected, that is to say, they are interacting and it is precisely these interactions which constitute movement."<sup>8</sup> The objectivity of connections between all things, phenomena and processes in the world leads to the objectivity of system. The interconnection characteristic of the system theory is a reflection of the objectivity of system. Hence, the system theory holds that apart from the interrelationship and interaction between a thing and conditions in its environment, that thing becomes unintelligible and meaningless. All things are of such an interconnected nature; there is no absolutely isolated "pure" phenomenon; nor does the "pure" function of an individual law exist. Therefore, when we study things, apart from examining the structures of the things themselves we must also examine alongside the system in which they exist. We must oppose carrying out any examination of a thing in isolation.

Mao Zedong's examination of war made use of the interconnection principle of the theory of system; he never discussed war by war itself but did so by uniting war with society and the times. In order to discuss the strategy and tactics of China's revolutionary war, he took war as an element, placed it in the system of China's society at the time, and examined it from the connection of its origins. In his article "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," he pointed out first of all that China is a semi-colonial big country in which political and economic developments are uneven, and it also went through a revolution from 1924 to 1927. The fact that China's political and economic developments are uneven is reflected in the coexistence of a feeble capitalist economy and a seriously semi-feudal economy, the coexistence of several million industrial workers and several hundred million peasants and handicraft workers under the rule of the old system, the coexistence of big warlords who controlled the central government and small warlords who controlled the various provinces, the coexistence in the reactionary armed forces of so-called central forces belonging to Chiang Kai-shek and so-called sundry forces belonging to warlords of the various provinces, and the coexistence of many railroads, navigation and air routes and highway routes as well as roads for the common

wheelbarrows, footpaths, and even paths that one's feet can hardly walk well on. China is a semi-colonial country; this results in disunity because of imperialism which in turn affects the political situation in which there is also disunity among the ruling cliques; China is a big country: "When it is not bright in the east, it is bound to be so in the west; when the south becomes dark, the north still remains otherwise"; thus there is no need to worry about not having any elbow room to move around. China went through the First Great Revolutionary War [of 1924-1927], prepared the seeds of the Red Army and the Communist Party, and also prepared the civilian population who went through a revolution. After analyzing the characteristics of the Chinese society at the time, Mao Zedong reached the conclusion: "This characteristic basically determines our military strategy and tactics as well as our political strategy and tactics."<sup>9</sup> In a word, there was a connection between the origins of China's war and China's society. The characteristics of China's society determine the characteristics of China's war; this vividly illustrates the interconnection principle as to how the characteristics of the system determine the characteristics of its elements.

In his article "On Protracted War," Comrade Mao Zedong first of all placed war in a given historical context and thereby examined it from the characteristics of the times. He clearly pointed out: "Our war is not just any war, it is specifically a war between China and Japan fought in the 1930's."<sup>10</sup> China "is historically in her era of progress"; this was the main basis for our being able to defeat Japan. Why did Comrade Mao Zedong regard the times as playing a decisive role? This is because, compared to the Sino-Japanese War, the times constitute an even bigger system. The War was a war of the times, and its character was determined by the times. Thus, standing on the high plane of the times and from the interconnections between China, Japan and the international environment of the day, he discussed the scientific conclusion that China was bound to be victorious and Japan was bound to suffer defeat and thereby refuted the theory of national subjugation with irrefutable arguments. In his article, "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," Comrade Mao Zedong also placed guerrilla war on the high plane of society and the times in order to examine it; he pointed out that China is neither a small country, nor like the Soviet Union, a big and weak country. "This large and weak country is being attacked by a small and strong country, but the large and weak country is in an era of progress; this is the source of the whole problem."<sup>11</sup> Proceeding from the fact that China is in her era of progress and from China's special nation situation, he determined a series of concrete strategic principles for the guerrilla war against Japan. To sum up, Comrade Mao Zedong, by employing the interconnection principle, placed war in conjunction with society and in conjunction with the times in order to examine it; this made his discourses on strategy and tactics and on the laws of war succinct and thorough, masterful and powerful.

4. Comrade Mao Zedong's discourses on the laws of war being continuously developing embodies the dynamism principle of the theory of system. Objects of modern scientific research are mostly systems of complicated structure and great activity. The dynamism principle of the theory of system (also called time-process principle) comes about precisely in response to such an

objective need. This dynamism principle not only requires us to study the direction and tendency of development and change of the various systems as well as their speed and mode of activity, but also requires us to explore the dynamism, causes and laws of their development and change. This dynamism principle stresses that the fundamental cause of change of things lies in the interconnections and interactions between the elements within each system. Just as Engles said: "Interaction is the real ultimate cause of things."<sup>12</sup> [sic] It is precisely the interaction of the elements of a system which propels the system to develop forward and promotes mutual transition between systems. All real, concrete systems are developing, open-end systems. Once a system is born, it must develop forward, until it matures. When the elements of a matured system stop to regenerate, the system would die out. All systems of the world of nature and of society, and all natural systems and artificial systems, etc., etc., develop roughly in this manner. Hence, we must regard a system as developing, dynamic, and open-ended, and not as petrified, frozen, or closed. Comrade Mao Zedong's discourses on the laws of war being developing embodies this dynamism principle of the theory of system. In his article "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Comrade Mao Zedong, on the matter of how to study the problems of war, first and foremost suggested that the laws of war are developmental. War, this monster which has caused man to kill man since private property and class were born, has occurred hundreds of times in large and small sizes. Because war is highly fluid, accidental and uncertain, its laws are not very easy to grasp. But the laws of war do exist and every revolutionary war guide must study the general laws of war. Because "all military laws and military theories which are in the nature of principles are the experience of past wars summed up by people in former days or in our own times. We should seriously study these lessons, paid for in blood, which are a heritage of past wars."<sup>13</sup> Without the understanding and guidance of general laws of war, we would end up with blindness in terms of its overall direction. But if a revolutionary war guide only stops at an understanding of general laws of war and general laws of revolutionary war without understanding the laws of China's revolutionary war, and simply uncritically accepts the military regulations in the military textbooks of ancients and foreigners, then he is bound to suffer defeat in a revolutionary war. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "All the laws for directing war develop as history develops and as war develops; nothing is changeless."<sup>14</sup> Why are the laws of war developmental? Concretely speaking, first, from the point of view of the conditions of time, war and the laws of war are developmental; each historical stages has its own characteristics; hence the laws of war also have their respective characteristics. Second, from the point of view of the nature of war, a revolutionary war and a counterrevolutionary war each has its own characteristics; hence the laws of a war also must have their own characteristics. Third, from the point of view of conditions of terrain, each country and each nation, especially each large country and big nation, has its own characteristics; hence the laws of war also must have their own characteristics. The change in elements such as the time war, the nature of war, and the location of war is the internal cause leading to the development of the laws of war. Comrade Mao Zedong advocated the view of searching for the cause of development from within a thing; on this he offered a succinct exposition in his subsequent

article "On Contradiction." Said he: "the world outlook of materialist dialectics holds that in order to understand the development of a thing we should study it internally and in its relations with other things; in other words, the development of things should be seen as their internal and necessary self-movement, while each thing in its movement is interrelated with and interacts on the things around it. The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing."<sup>15</sup> This is a sophisticated summation of the developmental view of materialist dialectics, and also the best illustration of the dynamism principle of the theory of system.

To sum up the foregoing, in Comrade Mao Zedong's military works are contained rich, profound system principles, wholeness principles, structure principles, interconnection principles, dynamism principles, and also other principles. These principles are interconnected, interacting, and they constitute the system of system principles in Mao Zedong's military thinking. In applying these system principles, Comrade Mao Zedong sometimes gave special prominence to a certain principle, and sometimes employed several principles simultaneously. In a word, he used them with utter dexterity, reaching the sublime degree of mastery. As the world advances to the 1980's in the 20th century, the modern system theory continues to develop and strive for perfection. While discovering and inheriting the system principles in Mao Zedong Thought and methodology, we should keep in line with mastering this modern system theory so as to learn well how to observe and analyze China's national situation with the systemic point of view and methodology and make contributions to the building of a socialism with Chinese characteristics.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 159.
2. "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 159.
3. "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 160.
4. Ibid., p 161.
5. "On Protracted War," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 415.
6. Ibid., p 418.
7. Ibid., p 418.
8. "Natural Dialects," "Selected Works of Marx and Engles," Vol 3, p 492.

9. "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 173.
10. "On Protracted War," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 419.
11. "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 374.
12. "Natural Dialectics," "Selected Works of Marx and Engles," Vol 3, p 552.
13. "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 165.
14. Ibid., pp 157-158.
15. "On Contradiction," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 276.

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